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CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Kozyrev on World Conference on Human Rights *[ITAR-TASS]* 1
Gorbachev Calls on U.S. To Prolong Nuclear Test Ban *[ITAR-TASS]* 1

INTERREGIONAL AFFAIRS

MIR TV, Radio Company Begins Broadcasting 2
Report on News Conference *[Moscow TV]* 2
Butrus-Ghali Speech Launches Network *[ITAR-TASS]* 2
Report on Beginning of Service *[Moscow TV]* 2
ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 19 Jun 5

RUSSIA INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

More on Yeltsin, Kravchuk Meeting; Black Sea Fleet 6
Official on Problems of Fleet Separation *[Moscow TV]* 6
Navy Reaction to Agreement *[Moscow TV]* 6
Navy Deputy Chief Comments on Fleet *[ITAR-TASS]* 7
Ukraine Reportedly Received Guarantees *[Moscow TV]* 7
Analyst Recaps Talks *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 19 Jun]* 7
Clinton, Yeltsin Reportedly To Meet in Tokyo 10 Jul *[Tokyo KYODO]* 8
Parliamentarians Call for Universal Nuclear Test Ban *[FEDERATSIYA 19 Jun]* 8
U.S. Company, Others Seek More Than 'Necessary' Information *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 16 Jun]* ... 9
Commentary on Anniversary of 'Russian-American Charter' *[Moscow International]* 9
Khasbulatov Arranges Yeltsin Trip To Istanbul *[Radio Rossii]* 9
China Expresses Regret Over Detention of Russian Ship *[ITAR-TASS]* 10
Official Apology Given *[Tokyo KYODO]* 10
Details Provided by PRC Authorities *[Vladivostok Radio]* 10
Vice Admiral Deplores PRC Maritime Harassment *[IZVESTIYA 18 Jun]* 11
Border Trade With PRC Reaches New Record Levels *[Vladivostok Radio]* 11
North Korean Fishing Boats Detained, Released *[ITAR-TASS]* 12
Hungarian President Goncz Views Joint Relations *[ITAR-TASS]* 12
Arrives in Moscow on Visit *[ITAR-TASS]* 12
Shakhray on Abkhazian, Ossetian-Ingushetia Conflicts *[Moscow TV]* 13
Committee Asks Georgia To Grant Autonomy to Rebel Regions *[ITAR-TASS]* 14
Government Statement on Conflict *[Moscow Radio]* 14
Humanitarian Operation in Abkhazia Close to Completion *[ITAR-TASS]* 14
Foreign Ministry Issues Statement on Rights in Estonia *[Moscow Radio]* 15
Agreement Ready on Granting Credit to Armenia *[Moscow Radio]* 15
Baltic Fleet Commander Views Revised Role *[Cologne Radio]* 15
Western Group of Forces Continues Withdrawal From Germany *[ITAR-TASS]* 16
Parliament Delegation Ends Visit to WGF *[ITAR-TASS]* 16
Joint Norwegian Seminar on Cooperation in Arctic Seas Ends *[ITAR-TASS]* 17
Nakhodka Official Protests 'Disembarkation' of UK Tourists *[ITAR-TASS]* 17
Navy Detachments To Visit Canada, Denmark *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 19 Jun]* 17
Various Russian Aircraft Exhibited at Paris Air Show *[Moscow TV]* 18
Exhibitors Interviewed on Products *[ITAR-TASS]* 18
Foreign Ministry Spokesman Comments on OAS Meeting *[ITAR-TASS]* 18
Obstacles to Russia's GATT Membership Eyed *[IZVESTIYA 18 Jun]* 19
IMF Criticized for Delaying Issue of Credit *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 17 Jun]* 19
Diplomat Argues Against Expanding UN Security Council *[SEGODNYA 18 Jun]* 20

Consular Service Chief on Illegal Immigration *[ITAR-TASS]* 21

RUSSIA NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Constitutional Issues

Filatov Remarks on Adopting New Constitution *[Moscow TV]* 22
New Members Named to Constitution Drafting Panel *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 18 Jun]* 22
Discussion on Constitutional Conference *[Moscow TV]* 22
Lipitskiy on Constitution, Civic Union *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 17 Jun]* 24
Constitutional Conference Groups End Sessions *[ITAR-TASS]* 26
Pro-Yeltsin Bias of Constitutional Conference Hit *[PRAVDA 18 Jun]* 26
Constitutional Conference Deadlock Reported *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 18 Jun]* 27
Constitutional Forum Based on 'Fantasies' *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 18 Jun]* 27

Political Issues

Ministry Rejects PRAVDA Claim of Attack on Parliament *[PRAVDA 18 Jun]* 28
Mashits Appointed Council of Ministers Representative *[Moscow Radio]* 29
Shokhin Denies Facing Criminal Charges *[IZVESTIYA 18 Jun]* 29
Shakhray Proposes 'Party of Russian Unity and Accord' *[Russian TV]* 29
Rutskoy Losing 'Socially Based Support' *[MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS 19 Jun]* 29
Lysenko Cited on TV Oversight Council Plan *[IZVESTIYA 17 Jun]* 30
People Polled on Most Trustworthy Institutions *[KURANTY 18 Jun]* 30

Economic Issues

Chernomyrdin Signs Resolution on Currency, Export Control *[ITAR-TASS]* 31
Zaveryukha Sees Trend Toward Stability in Agriculture *[Moscow TV]* 31
Yeltsin Approves Free Coal Prices *[ITAR-TASS]* 32
Minister Says Fuel, Power Prices Will Multiply *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 15 Jun]* 32
Energy Minister Proposes Coal Price Hike *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 19 Jun]* 33
Edict Expands Federation Privatization Rights *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 19 Jun]* 33
Application of Customs Duty Exemptions Questioned *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 16 Jun]* 34

Military Issues

Shaposhnikov Security Council Appointment Viewed *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 18 Jun]* 34
Yeltsin May Have 'Secret Plans' To Abolish Security Council *[SEGODNYA 18 Jun]* 35
Officers Caught Stealing Silver From Submarines *[Russian TV]* 36
Air Force Carries Out 'Large-Scale' Exercise *[Moscow TV]* 36

Supreme Soviet

Parliament To Investigate Rumors of 'State Coup' *[ITAR-TASS]* 37
Work Interrupted by 'Political Disputes' *[Moscow Radio]* 37
Further on Rutskoy Meeting With 'Army Reform' *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 18 Jun]* 38
Rutskoy Holds News Conference *[Russian TV]* 39

Regional Affairs

Yeltsin Arrives for Official Visit in Yakutsk *[ITAR-TASS]* 43
Comments on Purpose of Trip *[ITAR-TASS]* 43
Further Yeltsin Remarks *[Radio Rossii]* 43
Visits Jewelry Factory *[ITAR-TASS]* 44
Completes Visit *[ITAR-TASS]* 44
Mamodayev Contends To Be Head of Chechnya *[ITAR-TASS]* 44
Chechen Leader Assesses Threat From Dudayev *[ITAR-TASS]* 45
Chechen Opposition Reports on Republic Situation *[ITAR-TASS]* 45
Chechen President on 'Very Discreet' Paris Visit *[Paris LE MONDE 18 Jun]* 45
Dudayev on Visit to West, Direct Rule, Rights *[ITAR-TASS]* 46

Tambov Oblast Drawn Into Constitutional 'Crisis' *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 17 Jun]* 46

UKRAINE

International Affairs

Kravchuk News Conference Focuses on Russia *[Kiev International]* 47
Kuchma Blames Russia for Ukrainian Price Hikes *[ITAR-TASS]* 56
Morozov Informs Troops of Fleet Talks *[Kiev International]* 57
Commission Expresses Reservations on Free Trade With Russia
[URYADOVYY KURYER 15 Jun] 57
Butrus-Ghali Visits, Emphasizes Peacekeeping Missions 58
Discusses Yugoslav Situation With Plyushch *[ITAR-TASS]* 58
Meets Kravchuk, Zhulinskiy, Zlenko *[ITAR-TASS]* 58
Zlenko Signs 'Framework Agreement' *[Kiev International]* 58
Expresses Satisfaction With Visit *[ITAR-TASS]* 59
Commentary Criticizes U.S., FRG Security Positions *[NARODNA HAZETA Jun]* 59

National Affairs

Kuchma Announces Resignation Over Presidential Decree *[UKRINFORM]* 60
Denies Resignation Plans *[ITAR-TASS]* 60
Talks Between Strikers, Government Commission Continue *[ITAR-TASS]* 61
Kuchma Visits Krivoy Rog, Meets Miners *[ITAR-TASS]* 61
Trade Union Federation Calls Government Incompetent *[Kiev International]* 61
Crimean Parliament Resolution on Free Economy Explained *[ITAR-TASS]* 62
Kravchuk Praises Preparation of Draft Constitution *[Kiev International]* 62
Kravchuk Signs Decree Setting Up Anti-Crime Committee *[Kiev International]* 62
Customs Officials To Get Arms, Special Equipment *[ITAR-TASS]* 62
Radiation Leak Reported at Zaporozhye Plant *[UKRINFORM]* 62
Nuclear Specialists Oppose Closing Down Chernobyl AES *[HOLOS UKRAYINY 17 Jun]* 63
Odessa Authorities Cut Power Supplies Due to Coal Shortage *[Kiev International]* 63
National-Democratic Forces Plan To Support Kravchuk *[Kiev International]* 63
Communist Party Congress Adopts Statement, Rules *[ITAR-TASS]* 63
Counterintelligence Chief Views Tasks, Goals *[DEMOKRATYCHNA UKRAYINA 16 Jun]* 63

CAUCASUS

Azerbaijan

National Assembly Meets on Political 'Deterioration' *[Radio Rossii]* 66
Urges Elchibey To Return *[TURAN]* 66
Hears Latest on Guseynov Troops *[ITAR-TASS]* 66
1,000 Guseynov Troops Enter Baku With 'Heavy Artillery' *[Ankara TV]* 66
Troops 'Within 16 Km of Baku' *[TURAN]* 67
Troop Movement Suspended for 1 Week *[ITAR-TASS]* 67
Guseynov Calls For Elchibey To Resign *[AFP]* 67
Reportedly Demands Prime Ministerial Post *[AFP]* 67
Aliyev Holds News Conference 20 Jun *[Baku Radio]* 68
Further on News Conference *[Baku TV]* 74
Aliyev Interviewed on Elchibey, Crisis *[Moscow TV]* 76
Aliyev: Elchibey in Ordubad, Nakhichevan *[ITAR-TASS]* 76
Says Elchibey 'Must Return to Baku' *[ITAR-TASS]* 77
Aliyev's 18 Jun Appeal on Gyandzha, Elchibey's Departure *[Baku Radio]* 77
Elchibey Makes Statement From Nakhichevan *[Ankara TV]* 79
Says He Remains 'Lawful Leader' *[ITAR-TASS]* 80
Says 'in Touch With Baku' *[TURAN]* 80
Left Due to Attempt on Life *[Moscow Radio]* 81
'Surrounded by Heavy Security' *[Ankara Radio]* 81
Statements on Elchibey, Aliyev Noted 81
People's Front Statement *[Baku Radio]* 81

Turkey Extends 'Full Support' *[Ankara TV]* 81
Turkey Condemns 'Mutiny' *[ITAR-TASS]* 82
Turkish Envoy Conveys Messages to Aliyev *[Baku Radio]* 82
Iranian Leaders Support Aliyev *[ITAR-TASS]* 82
Battles for Agdam Continue *[TURAN]* 82
200 Residents Killed; 11 Villages Taken *[TURAN]* 82
Situation in Nakhichevan 'Completely Peaceful' *[Baku Radio]* 83
Nakhichevan Official Denies Turkey, Iran Borders Closed
[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 19 Jun] 83

Georgia

Shevardnadze Appeals for Extra Powers, Urges Strong Army
[CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY] 83
Shevardnadze: Russia to Blame If Peace Not Restored *[ITAR-TASS]* 83
Abkhazia Refrains From Responding to Russian Statement *[ITAR-TASS]* 84
Abkhazian Troops Said To Violate Cease-Fire *[SNARK]* 84
Second Army Corps Statement Supports Shevardnadze
[CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY] 84
Ardzinba Says Russia, World Community Supports Abkhazia *[IZVESTIYA 18 Jun]* 84
Russian Aid Convoy Arrives in Tkvarcheli *[ITAR-TASS]* 84
Shevardnadze Comments on Situation in Azerbaijan *[ITAR-TASS]* 85
Uzbek President Thanked for Restoring Gas Supplies *[ITAR-TASS]* 85

Kozyrev on World Conference on Human Rights

LD1806170493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1644 GMT 18 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Georgiy Shmelyov]

[Text] Moscow June 18 TASS—The Vienna forum has gathered primarily to use democratic changes in Europe and around the globe, consolidate this process and enable transformations in the humanitarian sphere, said Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, commenting on the main idea of the World Conference on Human Rights underway in the Austrian capital.

At the same time, there is, unfortunately, a tendency initiated by a number of states to torpedo the very concept of human rights and replace the human rights priority with a priority of economic development, Kozyrev told correspondents in Moscow upon his Thursday arrival from Austria.

The major democratic states have opposed this interpretation and use of the human rights principle, they are ready to "fight" for it and they will not be confused in the orientation at basic democratic norms, noted the official.

Another important aspect of the Vienna forum is that the conference is analyzing topical issues, including measures against aggressive nationalism and protection of ethnic minorities. In this connection, the minister recalled Russia' negative reaction to the admission to the Council of Europe of some states that do not observe rights of ethnic minorities. It seems certain revaluation of the stand taken by the council in Copenhagen is being done.

Groundlessness of reasons, claiming "these states will behave better after their admission to the Council of Europe", has become evident, and the Austrian forum has helped us a lot in this respect.

However, as long as Russia does not adopt a new constitution and hold elections, it will be "very difficult" to solve the question of its membership in the Council of Europe, as, in the minister's words, "we so far have no democratic institutes but the presidency". It is necessary to finish the breaking of the old system and create new democratic institutes, he said.

Kozyrev noted Russia is against double standards and believes admission of countries, violating main provisions of the democratic procedure during elections, is out of the question.

The Russian foreign minister said he spoke of this problem in his address to the Vienna forum and discussed it in bilateral meetings with colleagues at the conference, including German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel.

The minister did not excluded a possibility of Russia's use of "economic pressure levers" against Estonia and Latvia, where such violations (primarily, in Estonia) are specially evident. "And we have explained this to them," he stressed.

In Kozyrev's opinion, a high-level visit to these states is not discussed, but negotiations at the working level are underway. "I am not ready to say conditions for a successful visit have been created. Everything will depend on how wise these states will act," he said.

Gorbachev Calls on U.S. To Prolong Nuclear Test Ban

LD1906204593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2022 GMT 19 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Konstantin Pribytkov]

[Text] Geneva June 19 TASS—Former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev opened here an office of the international non-government "Green Cross" environmental organisation on Saturday [19 June] by announcing his appeal to US President Bill Clinton to refrain from resuming nuclear tests.

Gorbachev, who is the chairman of the new organisation, said he had forwarded a corresponding message to the US President on June 9 warning him that the resumption of nuclear tests may affect Ukrainian ratification of the START-1 Treaty.

He also said that in case Russia resumes tests on the only remaining range at the Novaya Zemlya Archipelago the radiation may spread outside the borders of the country. Such an incident may be detrimental to Russian economic reforms, according to Gorbachev.

He also announced another initiative of the organisation saying it plans to offer to governments to carry out "an inventory" of all objects posing nuclear and radioactive danger which would allow to avoid possible catastrophes.

Gorbachev said the "Green Cross" is not going to compete with other environmental organisations, but will cooperate with them and carry out joint initiatives aimed at preserving the environment. The organisations wants to become an "open forum" for discussions of burning ecological problems, he added.

The "Green Cross" has already opened an office in The Hague in May which will engage in research and distribute information, while the Geneva mission will work to avert ecological catastrophes.

The idea of creating such an organisation won support of the UN Conference on Environment and development held in Rio de Janeiro last June.

MIR TV, Radio Company Begins Broadcasting

Report on News Conference

LD1806193493 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1400 GMT 18 Jun 93

[By correspondent Keti Kharaydze, including interview with Gadilbek Shalakhmetov, chairman of the MIR Interstate TV and Radio Company; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Kharaydze] A news conference was held in Moscow today in connection with the commencement of the functioning of the MIR interstate television and radio company. Gadilbek Shalakhmetov, the first and as yet sole head of the television and radio company, was appointed directly by eight prime ministers. This has got to be some kind of record for the Guinness Book of World Records. As for the rest, the company is just beginning to take its first steps.

At this meeting with correspondents, fragments were presented of a program that will be broadcast on 20 June at 1230 hours [0830 GMT]. In this program, as yet simply an outline, the authors have endeavored to emphasize the credo of the new company—namely an orientation on constructive assessments, the quest for mutual understanding on the most acute and pressing problems, and respect for the historical and cultural heritages of peoples.

The MIR television and radio company is a closed type of joint stock company. It has been founded by CIS member states. Each of them has contributed R [ruble] 200,000,000 to its authorized capital.

[Unidentified correspondent] I have heard that you and your company are already having financial problems, and that despite the fact that states are sending you money, it is being sequestrated at the frontier.

[Shalakhmetov, chairman of the MIR television and radio company] There have been some difficulties. For instance, the Armenian Government transferred money to our company but the Russian National Bank regards it as being in payment of Armenia's debt. If these matters are sorted out, all our debts will disappear like smoke.

Butrus-Ghali Speech Launches Network

LD2006110993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1020 GMT 20 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Veksler]

[Text] Moscow, June 20 (TASS)—The presentation of a MIR Inter-state Television and Radio Network, established by eight CIS states—Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan—began on Sunday with a speech on Ostankino's channel one by United Nations Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali.

The network will rely on the national branches of the founding countries which have absolutely equal rights to the coverage of developments inside and outside CIS countries, Mir network chief Gadilbek Shalakhmetov said.

The presentation programme included messages of greetings and speeches by the leaders of CIS states, prominent scientists, art people, and literary figures.

At the initial stage the Mir will broadcast for three hours a week.

The Moscow-based Inter-state Television and Radio Network is a close joint-stock company with an expansion capability. This means that any other CIS state may join it as a founder.

Report on Beginning of Service

LD2006191693

[Editorial Report] Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian at 0831 GMT on 20 June broadcasts 40-minute program on the launch of the MIR interstate television company.

The word MIR is now turned round into a vertical position on the left side of the screen, while on the right side the UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali appears. A TV picture of him speaking expands to fill the screen. He is shown with bookshelves and a UN flag behind him. Butrus-Ghali is addressing—caption shows: Atlanta May 1993, session of the "World Review" [Vsemirnoye Obozreniye] an audience in a TV message. An CNN abbreviation is at the bottom right hand corner.

Butrus-Ghali says: [Russian translation is superimposed on the English speech] "Good morning! I am glad to have the opportunity to exchange views with you. The fact that this can be done with the help of television is symbolic of our times. Today the mass media does not only report news, television has become part of the events it is covering. When a crisis is at the center of attention, other no less serious events are left in the wings. There are problems in Afghanistan, Angola, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Myanmar, and Tajikistan. Few pay any interest to these events. In one day in Luanda or Huambo more people were killed than during many months in Sarajevo.

Why is the United Nations deeply involved in one crisis and not involved at all in another? One of the reasons for this is the inattention of the mass media. The influence of TV coverage and of the political interest is very strong. It is difficult to predict it."

The video then shows Butrus-Ghali's TV picture becoming smaller and is moved to the top right hand side of the screen and stays there throughout clips of refugees in Africa; military aircraft; crowds being dispersed; combat scenes; results of disasters; and starving people.

A string of CNN abbreviations is shown across the screen. Then the video shows Gadilbek Shalakhmetov, head of the interstate television and radio broadcasting company "MIR", at what he says "is the CNN's holy of holy places," i.e the editorial office [location not specified]. He says that "MIR" should have a better editorial office than what the viewers and the heads of states who founded the company see on the screen. The video then shows scenes of nature, the caption appears in Russian: interstate television and radio company "MIR" begins its regular broadcasts.

This is followed by Gadilbek Shalakhmetov shown in an office speaking on the new company's policy: "I would like to say the founder-states of our, in many aspects, unusual company—I would like to remind you that there are eight of them: Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan—stress that the main thing in the activities of the company and its information policy is the equality of the founders. All the states will have an equal right to equal information and to their own interpretation of the processes and events that take place in our countries."

He ends by quoting a booklet issued by the company: "The company does not broadcast programs that contain remarks or topics that are insulting to the sovereignty of one or another state, to the national or religious feelings of one or another peoples or that violate the law. This is how we are going to work."

He continues by noting that the company will work on the basis of the eight national branches of the founder states. He notes that he has a dream of seeing that the editorials of the national branches will look something like the office of the Moscow bureau of the Japanese TV company NHK he is seen in. He also points out the offices of the "MIR" company will all show their local time.

The video then shows clips from Armenian TV showing a string orchestra playing and scenes of everyday life in Yerevan; stumps from cut down trees; and Sos Sarkisyan, an Armenian artist. An Armenian TV presenter's voice speaks about everyday life in Yerevan. It stresses that in spite of the difficulties in the everyday lives of the inhabitants in Yerevan cultural events go on as usual. At the same time he points out that over 700,000 trees were cut down for wood as a result of the economic blockade of Armenia. Even the botanical garden fell victim to those desperate to find wood for fuel. Sos Sarkisyan, people's artist of Armenia—identified by caption—speaks in favor of restoring ties between the republics that had previously existed.

Belarus TV shows clips of an orchard in sring, air views of forests, street scenes, and an air view of a city. This is followed by Stanislav Shushkevich, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Belarus—identified by caption—being interviewed in an office. He says: "You know, first of all I would like to say that I am sure that Moscow forces will be the basis for this company. I have had the opportunity several times to see that this is a guarantee of the high intellect and high professionalism, but at the same time the guarantee, as a rule, that there will be many directions and affections for many things and, in general, of one-sided political orientation. I would like this company to be above all these things, to give us the full range of information.

I would like it to be a company that will not do something that shows its insolvency and contempt for other people's opinion. It should use high intellect and high professionalism to get through an idea. I think if the company is above all these negative points I have mentioned the republics will respect it."

A presentation by Ukrainian TV comes next over shots of a meeting of people, against the background of a Ukrainian song, mourning the victims of the Chernobyl disaster.

Gadilbek Shalakhmetov is shown again in NHK Moscow's office asking Kobayasi Kadzuo [transliterated from Russian] chief correspondent of the NHK Moscow bureau—identified by caption—who is shooting a film about Chernobyl, what he thinks about the Chernobyl disaster. Shalakhmetov notes in this respect that "MIR" may be preparing a special program on the danger of resuming nuclear tests, maybe in August. He invites his Japanese colleague to take part.

This is followed by Russian TV showing a video report from Dagestan on what children do, and what they would like to become, over shots of children playing and being interviewed. Then clips of children playing are shown sandwiched between the MIR logo and a message that promises to give an answer to questions put to the children.

Tajikistan TV follows with clips of people in the fields, scenes of family life, and a man talking about the values of family life. A woman speaks on culture in Tajikistan. A song is then sung. The video then shows armed men in military uniform, a helicopter gunship and some small arms.

Back in the studio, MIR Company Chairman Shalakhmetov, who has returned to the studio, says it is a rare thing to see peaceful scenes on all the television monitors in the studio. "What is interethnic conflict? Where does it derive from? There are laws regulating the coverage of wars and conflicts, laws that we did not think up. We have been working on these lately in the Commission on Television and Radio Policy that is headed by well-known journalist Eduard Sagalayev, for Russia, and by former US President Jimmy Carter for the U.S. side. This commission works in Atlanta, Moscow, and Almaty, and an entire code has been drawn up on how to cover interethnic conflicts. Unfortunately, as professionals we know little about this, and as a result some influence may be exerted that serves to exacerbate the conflict."

The video cuts to Imamali Rakhmonov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tajikistan, shown seated facing camera, with the state flag on his right. "Peace and happiness to you, dear friends! Believe me, we Tajiks have always appreciated the value of peace, and still do, especially since the events in our republic of which you are well aware.

"Because of the disruption of the unified information space and untrue coverage of events, the population of the CIS countries and the world community were not always able to form an objective opinion on the situation in Tajikistan. Given all these factors, when the question of setting up a joint MIR TV and radio broadcasting company for the CIS countries was discussed, our state was among the first to agree to it. Bon voyage! I have just one wish: That the company may be worthy of its name, the sacred word MIR."

The video cuts to President Mircea Snegur of the Republic of Moldova, shown seated in an easy chair at a table, chatting to an unidentified correspondent. "My one request, or wish, is that social justice should flourish, in regard to all members of this MIR TV and radio broadcasting company, and to all who set it up. We should have some time or, as you put it, some space in order to make use of it and tell people what is going on in the Republic of Moldova, especially in such a difficult time as this, when the opinions of various political movements and parties are far from being alike. What I mean is that information from the Russian Federation, for instance, should not predominate, that one should find out from the horse's mouth, so to speak, what is going on in the CIS countries. "

An unidentified correspondent then asks: "What does Snegur the man want most of all at the present time?

Snegur replies: "Snegur the man cannot be separated from Snegur the president, the head of the country. What Snegur the man and president wants, above all, is peace; and for everybody, finally, to get down to tackling economic reforms."

President Snegur's interview is followed by lyrical video clips of Moldovan vineyards, family life, and a happy scene as an old woman's son comes home for a family gathering. Video clips of people shopping, money being counted out, and of the Central Bank building are sandwiched between the MIR logo and a running caption "in our programs on economic issues you will find answers from academics and businessmen from the Commonwealth countries."

The video then moves to an informal ofice meeting of businessmen who are looking at a chart, written in English, from the Alemsystem financial Investment Corporation bearing a map of Kazakhstan. Kozy-Korpesh Yesenberlin—identified by caption as the president of the "Alemsystem" Corporation—says in an interview that politics is getting in the way of business relations between republics: There follows a brief ITA clip from an unspecified news conference in Karaganda by President Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan, who asserts that there are no limits to the potential of business development and calls upon businessmen to get together; mutually advantageous economic relations are a guard against interethnic strife.

President Boris Yeltsin is then shown addressing a CIS summit news conference, citing his famous quote: "Another important thing is clear: There has been no support in any CIS state for us to divorce. As for Russia, it has from the very start championed deep integration, integration not by way of duress, but on a voluntary basis by the free choice of every state."

Video clips of CIS summits are accompanied by the caption: "In our programs we shall check out how far politics is compatible with normal, everyday common sense."

Olzhas Suleymenov, people's writer of Kazakhstan, gives a lyrical exposition of the importance of peace and the extra dimension it has assumed in the integrated modern world. The theme of national identity and the complementary nature of ethnic cultures is one that will be dealt with by MIR programs, introduced here by references to the work of the Russian philosophical writer Lev Nikolayevich Gumilev and an interview with Gumilev's widow, Natalya Viktorovna Gumileva.

Clips of Russian Orthodox churches and folk song introduce an interview with Academician Dmitriy Sergeyevich Likhachev on the individual's responsibility for the past, future, and present. Vox pop interviews CIS city streets stress the need for an objective and all-embracing MIR company.

President Askar Akayev of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, interviewed apparently in a presidential office in Bishkek, says: "The creation of this MIR interstate television and radio station is a requirement, or I will stress it is more, even a demand of the time. It is long overdue, but I want to voice my joy and satisfaction here. It is a double pleasure for me to congratulate you, because the decision to set up the MIR interstate television and radio company was taken here, in the chamber next door, at the session of CIS heads of state last year. So I am very pleased that Kyrgyzstan has made its contribution to this. The MIR television and radio company will, I think, further our integration and our mutual understanding, will deepen our mutual understanding, will strengthen trust between us and, most importantly, will help to preserve the human dimension we have in common, something of great significance for the citizens of the new independent states."

Back in the studio, Shalakhmetov emphasizes the need for "tolerance, new technologies, new liberalism, progress, sensitivity to peoples, equality and respect," which is the policy of the MIR TV and radio company that all those working for it will try to pursue. The credits at the end note the following as having contributed to the program: Koryun Kumaryan, Karlen Yalanuzyan, Yuriy

Novikov, Gulzhand Yergaliyeva, Nigmatulo Mirsaidov, Kalbek Estebesov, Mikhail Sokirke, Ratmir Kalashnikov-Lutsenko, Tatyana Trukhina, Marina Koroleva, Irina Belyayeva, and Sergey Altukhov. "The program was prepared with the help of the GTRK Ostankino, CNN and NHK television companies."

After the credits the MIR logo appeared on the screen: a colored kaleidoscope formed of eight triangles making a circle, in the colors of the spectrum, with the Cyrillic word MIR handwritten in the center.

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 19 Jun

LD1906063493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0614 GMT 19 Jun 93

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow June 19 TASS—The Russian press extensively comments on the Russian-Ukrainian summit. The one-day talks between Boris Yeltsin and Leonid Kravchuk held in an atmosphere of complete secrecy, which points to their intense nature, were crowned with "breakthrough decisions", writes the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA newspaper, quoting the words by Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev.

In the newspaper's opinion, the main result of these talks lies in the fact that "the wrangle between Russia and Ukraine over the Black Sea fleet turned from mutual reproaches to the division of the Black Sea property for the subsequent solution of common tasks".

The PRAVDA newspaper expresses another opinion. It claims that the summit signed a death sentence to the Black Sea fleet. The newspaper writes that the decision taken by the presidents on the Black Sea fleet, which is in no way "the Solomon's decision", generates many difficult problems.

What criteria will be used "to cut" the fleet? How can the two fleets tackle "coordinated tasks to protect common interests of security and stability? Who will shoulder coordination of joint actions if the joint command ceased to exist?, the newspaper asks. [no closing quotation mark as received]

Yeltsin and Kravchuk managed to come to agreement but they did not achieve many specific decisions, the NEZAVISIMAYA newspaper writes. It singles out a provision in the communique on the talks, saying of the two sides' intention "to step up preparations for an all-embracing political treaty between Russia and Ukraine".

The newspaper notes that "the Ukrainian president stipulated the signing of such a treaty by an article that Russia has no territorial claims for the Ukrainian territory, that is Russia should fully recognise the Crimea as a Ukrainian region.

"If such a treaty is signed, the struggle of Russian politicians to preserve the Black Sea fleet in the Crimea will look like a search for a black cat in a dark room," the newspaper notes.

The newspapers continue to give an extensive coverage to the Constitutional Conference. They sum up the results of "the first stage" of this all-Russian assembly which announced an interval till June 26.

The KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA newspaper writes that the Constitutional Conference achieved definite results. Firstly, the constitutional process "started rolling". Secondly, the conference resembles a nation-wide round table. Thirdly, there is seemingly a chance to hammer out the text of a constitution.

The SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA newspaper, quoting prominent politician Aman Tuleyev who writes in the newspaper about the results of the Constitutional Conference's first stage, calls this all-Russian forum "a game against the background of a calamity".

PRAVDA calls it "a Kremlin illusionary show". "The Kremlin illusionary show of unanimity of the presidential team was possible to stage only when opposition refused to participate in the show," the newspaper stresses.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA features the article "popular assemblies" by Russian parliament speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov. The speaker casts a retrospective clance at the history of popular assemblies.

"It is not by chance that many of us believe that Russia lacks democratic traditions, elements of parliamentarism and popular representation. This belief is based on complete oblivion (or distortion which is no better) of the experience of popular assemblies, which accumulated many instructive and important things," the speaker notes.

The press describes actions by Azeri President Abulfaz Elchibey as a sensation: he suddenly left the capital Baku and departed for Nakhichevan.

"Elchibey disappeared. If he is not found, Gaydar Aliyev will take presidential powers," NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA writes. "Elchibey left Baku. A voluntary act?" asks KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA.

"Elchibey surrenders power to Aliyev? The situation in Azerbaijan quickly speeds to a showdown," says KRASNAYA ZVEZDA.

More on Yeltsin, Kravchuk Meeting; Black Sea Fleet

Official on Problems of Fleet Separation

OW1906115593 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel and Orbita Networks in Russian 1845 GMT 15 June 93

[By A. Ostrovskiy; from the "Utro" program]

[Text] The Black Sea Fleet today clearly indicates all the problems in relations between Russia and Ukraine like litmus paper. It has been 10 months since the presidents of Russian and Ukraine signed the Yalta agreement on creating Ukrainian and Russian Navies on the basis of the Black Sea Fleet by 1995. However, not a single paragraph on fleet division has been implemented. The first reason is the wording, which is too general. Second, the Black Sea Fleet clearly demonstrates the haste—to put it mildly—of the separation between the Slav republics of the former USSR. The fleet is important to people's destinies, shipbuilding, and protection of marine borders.

[Begin recording] [Major O.Chepishko, deputy commander] We have 17 nationalities on our cruiser. In other words, one can say that a fully represented miniature of the Soviet Union serves on our cruiser. In the family of virtually every second officer, either the husband or the wife are from Russia or Belarus, or have relatives there. How can these people be divided just by saying that these are citizens of Ukraine and those of someplace else? [video shows interview with Major Taratynov, combat unit commander]

[Taratynov] There has been no planned supply of the Black Sea Fleet and of this ship since 1991. There has been no planned repairs from the beginning of this year, either, and this also includes our ship. The main kind of repair remaining in this situation is the one carried out by the crew, which sometimes leads to serious breakage of equipment. Sailors of the Black Sea Fleet believe that the fleet must remain undivided and united, under a joint flag. [video shows interview with Vice-Admiral A. Frolov, deputy commander of Black Sea Fleet]

[Frolov] If the fleet is divided, it will actually cease to exist as such. Single ships from the NATO bloc, U.S. ships, and even groups of up to eight ships—including cruisers, torpedo ships, and ships armed with rockets—entered the waters of the Black Sea during the second half of last year and the beginning of this year. Of course, this has never happened before. [end recording]

Ships have shorter lives than people do. If one takes into consideration that most ships are not new and need replacement, then the future of the fleet is a cause for concern. However, the most important thing that should be discussed is the welfare and status of the Black Sea Fleet sailors. They should not face the tortuous choice of which people they should swear their allegiance to. [video shows interview with Junior Lieutenant Ye. Lupakov, chairman of Union of Officers of Ukrainian Navy]

[Begin Lupakov recording] The whole world is moving toward unification. Europe is uniting, and so is the United States; and other states also are striving to unite. This is a natural and normal way for humanity to develop. There is no doubt that Russia and Ukraine will also unite sometime. No, not like it used to be in the Soviet Union. Our unification will take some other form. Our presidents are talking about it. It is a natural process. What is important is this: To accelerate the process of unification of Ukraine and Russia in a different configuration, an immediate and speedy division is necessary. [sentence as heard] [end recording]

Mutual accusations are probably out of place on the eve of the two presidents' meeting. However, both governments are responsible for the continuous jeopardizing of the supply of material goods, fuel, lubricants, and provisions, and the delay of pay. The Black Sea sailors and their families suffer from this confusion. One does not like to think that someone stands to gain from the discord in Crimea and Sevastopol, but unfortunately, facts sometimes confirm these sad theories.

One local resident joked bitterly: The argument is not about whose land it is and whose navy should remain here; it is about the hundreds of summer houses belonging to Moscow and Kiev bureaucrats.

There is enough space for everyone in this truly Eden-like spot. After all, Greeks, Tartars, Russians, and Ukrainians have peaceably lived in the ancient land of Crimea for thousands of years.

Navy Reaction to Agreement

LD2006140593 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0735 GMT 20 Jun 93

[From the "Military Review" program]

[Excerpts] What had long been awaited by the Black Sea sailors has taken place. The presidents of the two states [Yeltsin and Kravchuk] decided to speed up the formation of Russia's Navy and Ukraine's Navy. Have the sailors' expectations been realized? As before, until the complete division of the fleet there will be a unified fleet command. This will preserve the combat readiness of ships and formations. The Black Sea sailors—Russians and Ukrainians—will receive equal monetary allowances. Has the main issue raised by most sailors been resolved, the issue of a single fleet? The terms single and joint [yedinyy and obyedinennyy] do not mean the same thing. The term single applies to the fleet as the union fleet has remained and which, in the view of the Black Sea sailors, could become a connecting link in a new union of Slav powers.

What yardsticks will also be employed to divide the fleet equally? Do Ukraine and Russia need halves of the very

old fleet? Why was the issue not raised at the talks of joint financing of shipbuilding at Nikolayev? Another interesting thing is how the sailors are to be divided against their will into two equal parts, as well as the bases at Kerch, Feodosiya, Odessa, and Izmail. There continues to be concern about the lack of coordination in providing materially for the fleet both by the Russian side and by the Ukrainian side. [passage omitted]

The former position of Ukraine and its defense ministry was to hand over all floating facilities but to retain for itself the bases and rear support services. However, the fact that Leonid Kravchuk almost for the first time recognized that the southern borders were held in common with Russia makes it possible to hope for the preservation, at least nominally, of the unity of the Black Sea Fleet until just 1995. Despite the participation of Crimea's head of parliament in the talks, the question of Sevastopol's status and dual citizenship for Crimea's residents and servicemen, on which socio-political movements in Crimea and Sevastopol were so insistent, was unfortunately not considered at the meeting of the presidents.

[Unidentified reporter] How is the provision of rear support services for Russia's Navy and Ukraine's Navy proceeding?

[Mikhail Stakhov, chief of the Ukrainian navy's rear support services] At present the Black Sea Fleet and Ukraine's navy are being 95 to 98 percent provided with their food by Ukraine, while about 80 percent of their material supplies are being provided by Russia and 20 percent by Ukraine. In these conditions, however, problems are arising for us. While Ukraine is supplying all the food for the fleet, the Black Sea fleet is not in return providing us with anything by way of particular types of material belongings for our officers and men. It is providing them only in return for payment. [passage omitted]

Navy Deputy Chief Comments on Fleet

LD1806200693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1919 GMT 18 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksey Zavinovskiy]

[Text] St. Petersburg June 18 TASS—"I think an important step has been made to decide on the fate of the Black Sea fleet at the summit level," First Deputy Russian Navy Commander-in-Chief Admiral Igor Kasatonov told ITAR-TASS today, commenting on results of a Russian-Ukrainian summit meeting.

Although a political decision has been taken, there is so far no mechanism to implement it, added the admiral. In his opinion, the division of the Black Sea fleet will lower its combatability and make it more difficult to coordinate protection measures. "I stand for a single fleet under single control and command," he said.

Kasatonov is sure, when deciding on the fate of the Black Sea fleet, maximum attention must be paid to seamen and their social problems must be solved. The seamen will do their best to fulfill their duties if politicians guarantee them and their families normal life and service conditions.

Ukraine Reportedly Received Guarantees

LD2006212093 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 20 Jun 93

[By station observer Aleksandr Gerasimov; from the "Itogi" news program]

[Excerpts] The past week was, in many ways, decisive in sorting out Russian-Ukrainian relations. Here with the story is our observer Aleksandr Gerasimov.

[Gerasimov] The meeting between the presidents of Russia and Ukraine, the third in a year, once again ended—in Leonid Kravchuk's words—in opening a qualitatively new stage in the development of relations between the two states, as did the previous two meetings. [passage omitted].

Some reports say that Ukraine has already received the text of a declaration from Russia which guarantees that Ukraine will not be subjected to attack, either with nuclear or with conventional weapons, that its territorial integrity and the inviolability of its borders will be respected, and that it will not be subjected to any economic or political pressure. This declaration, however, does not guarantee untroubled existence for the rest of the world. Russian military specialists from strategic missile forces still contend that the storage and maintenance conditions of nuclear missiles in Ukraine are far from perfect, and that no eventuality can be ruled out. None of the participants in the talks have given any explanations on this point.

There has been no mention of the date and venue of the next meeting between the presidents of Russia and Ukraine. It has become quite a tradition that talks between them are only held when relations between our countries become strained.

Analyst Recaps Talks

MK1906095093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 19 Jun 93 p 1

[Vitaliy Portnikov report under "Russia-Ukraine" rubric: "Yeltsin, Kravchuk Come to Terms. But Few Concrete Decisions Have Been Made"]

[Text] Leaving Moscow, Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk told journalists about "a new stage in Ukrainian-Russian relations." Indeed, the Russian and Ukrainian leaders, in the seclusion of the famous Zavidovo, have managed to come out of their meeting with their hands far from empty. A collapse of the talks with the present condition of Ukraine would have been hazardous both for the country's domestic situation and for

the future of bilateral relations. Yet, reading between the lines of the presidents' accords, one comes to realize that it was very difficult to reach agreement and that it has already become a tradition for "inter-Commonwealth relations" either to ignore or evade sensitive issues. The decision on the division of the Black Sea Fleet seems news but in fact is only confirmation of the agreements reached earlier in Yalta and Dagomys. A really fundamental and new development is the agreement on the division not only of ships, but also of the Black Sea Fleet's coastal infrastructure (which Russia has always been demanding). In other words, confirmation of the fact that Russia will never leave Sevastopol. But the status of Sevastopol has so far not been defined in any way, and therefore those who think that "Ukraine is willing to lease Sevastopol to Russia" must be jumping to conclusions. Such a decision could indeed be adopted, but since it has not been specified even now, in this complicated situation for the Ukrainian leadership, there is no reason to think that something could influence Kiev's vision of Sevastopol's future.

Meanwhile, Leonid Kravchuk has reiterated the intention of the participants in the meeting to speed up preparation of a new large-scale treaty between the two countries. But Ukraine's president made the signing of such an agreement conditional on an article recording a full absence of territorial claims. In other words, actually a final recognition of Crimea as Ukrainian territory. And if this treaty were signed, the entire struggle by Russian politicians for the preservation of the Black Sea Fleet in Crimea (given the real strategic importance of this military formation) would rather be reminiscent of searching for a black cat in a dark room.

No other concrete decisions were made at the presidents' meeting—and this despite the fact that simultaneously talks were held between the prime ministers and the vice premiers. Here again the question arises: Can Russia effectively make Ukraine dependent on its economy and its oil and gas deliveries? An answer to this question will apparently come during a visit, agreed on at the talks in Zavidovo, by Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin to Kiev next Thursday. And should it transpire that the words on "mutually beneficial conditions in the settlement of fuel and energy questions" in the presidential communique were a mere declaration, then indeed a totally new stage in bilateral relations could begin—the stage of cooperation between two partners, really independent of each other.

Clinton, Yeltsin Reportedly To Meet in Tokyo 10 Jul

OW1906052293 Tokyo KYODO in English 0502 GMT 19 Jun 93

[Text] Tokyo, June 19 KYODO—U.S. President Bill Clinton and Russian President Boris Yeltsin will meet in the morning on July 10 in Tokyo just after the annual summit of the Group of Seven (G-7) major economic powers, Russian diplomatic sources here said Saturday [19 June].

The meeting will be the second faceoff between Clinton and Yeltsin, following one in Vancouver, Canada, in early April.

Parliamentarians Call for Universal Nuclear Test Ban

MK1906101093 Moscow FEDERATSIYA in Russian No. 67, 19 Jun 93 (Signed to Press 18 Jun) p 1

[Aleksandr Smirnov report under the "Initiative" rubric: "From a Moratorium to a Treaty"]

[Text] Last Thursday, 17 June, the Russian parliament's Soviet of the Republics passed a statement, sponsored by Deputy Aleksandr Vishnyakov and supported by the Supreme Soviet's International Affairs and Foreign Economic Relations Committee, with regard to the moratorium on nuclear tests in Nevada and on Novaya Zemlya, which will expire in two weeks.

In October 1992, the statement says, when the three nuclear powers—Russia, France, and the United States—simultaneously announced that they were suspending nuclear testing, a real prospect for reaching an international treaty banning nuclear tests opened up. Despite numerous requests by the public, by Russian people's deputies, and the statement of intent by the Russian and the U.S. Presidents in Vancouver, however, talks on this problem, vital for mankind, have never begun.

Certain forces are evidently trying to undermine the agreements reached and to unfold a new stage of nuclear testing. This poses a threat, dangerous for the world, that the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, which will expire in 1995, may be ruined.

Against this backdrop, the Russian deputies say, we are once again calling on the parliaments of the nuclear states—the United States, the United Kingdom, France, and China—to convene a working meeting of parliamentarians in order to work out a program of action aimed at preventing a new spiral of nuclear arms race.

The statement expresses support for President Boris Yeltsin's intention to extend the Russian moratorium after 1 July unless the United States resumes nuclear testing.

"The document was approved in the Soviet of the Republics by a two-thirds majority," Aleksandr Vishnyakov, the sponsor of the legislation, said in a brief telephone interview, "And this gives us the right to request that the Russian Foreign Ministry act in a more energetic and productive manner in this area. I will recall that on 3 June Sweden's official representative to the Geneva talks already submitted a draft treaty on the complete and comprehensive ban of nuclear testing. We want our official diplomatic stance on the subject to be defined as soon as possible. At present, we are trying to arrange a meeting with Minister Kozyrev and we have not given up hopes of being received by the president.

It should be added that Aleksandr Vishnyakov and a group of his followers in the parliament have been actively supporting the preparation of an international action called "From a Moratorium to a Treaty," which is to culminate in a nongovernmental conference on board a ship going from Arkhangelsk to Novaya Zemlya. It was already reported that the idea of this action originated with the activists of the "To a New EARTH" [K Novoy ZEMLE] movement for environmental safety. On 22 June, at 1000, an expanded meeting of the conference's organizing committee will be held in Arkhangelsk (49 P. Vinogradov Prospekt, room 319, tel. 49-61-34).

U.S. Company, Others Seek More Than 'Necessary' Information

PM1806155393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 16 Jun 93 First Edition p 4

[Unattributed report under the rubric "Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow": "Here Too They Are Ahead of Us"]

[Text] In an interview published in the Tomsk newspaper DELO, Viktor Anokhin, chief of the economic security department at the Russian Ministry of Security Administration for Tomsk Oblast, stated that, on the pretext of cooperation, while giving assistance to the Tomsk City Administration in the privatization of road transport, a U.S. international financial corporation, as well as a number of foreign investment funds, are requesting a volume of economic information which significantly exceeds the necessary level, the Russian Ministry of Security believes.

According to Viktor Anokhin's information, foreign companies are frequently calculating in goods rather than currency in return for the raw material they supply. At the same time, they are instructing Russian businessmen to make lists of the most popular commodities at a particular time, and, having obtained these lists, immediately inflate their prices. According to Anokhin, this state of affairs is damaging to the whole state and its centralized purchases.

Commentary on Anniversary of 'Russian-American Charter'

LD1806130893 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 18 Jun 93

[Yuriy Soltan commentary]

[Text] It's a year since the signing of the Russian-American charter of partnership and friendship. During their Vancouver meeting in April this year the Russian President Boris Yeltsin and his American counterpart Bill Clinton confirmed the importance of this manifesto of principles of relations between the two countries. An opinion from our Observer Yuriy Solton:

The charter has removed almost all apprehensions that a nuclear conflict is possible between the two countries. Rivalry in the arms race that strained relations the world over has been replaced by nuclear disarmament. In addition to the charter, the two countries reached at that time an agreement of principle to reduce by two-thirds strategic offensive weapons. The treaty to this effect is currently pending ratification in the Russian parliament and the American Senate.

Greater confidence in relations between the two countries have allowed them not to wait for the results of debates but to begin unilaterally to reduce the number of strategic missiles and arsenals of tactical nuclear weapons. Unfortunately, expectations have not come true that peace and well-being will occur worldwide as soon as the confrontation of the two superpowers and two social systems is over. Conflicts on ethnic, religious, and other grounds that have recently flared up are no less dangerous than the nuclear confrontation issue. The more so since two dozens of countries have facilities now to produce nuclear weapons of their own.

At present, the Russian-American charter says Russia and the United States will jointly try to deal with the world's trouble spots. This does not mean that the two countries will assume the role of the world's police force or that Russia is taking a backseat to United States policy. Joint efforts of the two countries will serve to enhance the role of the United Nations and other international organizations in ensuring international security.

To build up new relations is not an easy task. Though the image of an enemy was destroyed, some political groups in both Russia and the United States cling to the vestiges of Cold War thinking. Moscow does not understand why the United States and some other Western countries are continuing to treat Russia as a communist power which they should be afraid of. There is no other explanation to the fact that the West has not removed trade barriers against Russia which were introduced during the Cold War time, though the West favors democratic reforms in this country.

True, President Clinton recently made some suggestions to lift these restrictions. Let's hope others will follow suit. Be that as it may, both Russia and the United States, despite the differences that arise, have been moving along the way of partnership stipulated by the charter. The Russian-American summit during the Tokyo meeting of the seven most industrialized nations in July will undoubtedly promote rapprochement between the two countries.

Khasbulatov Arranges Yeltsin Trip To Istanbul

LD1806164793 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 18 Jun 93

[Text] In Istanbul the meeting has ended of the ministers of foreign affairs of the countries that are a party to the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Organization. Ruslan Khasbulatov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Russia, also took part in it. Vladimir Khovorotovich, correspondent of the TRUD newspaper, reports from Istanbul.

[Khovorotovich] As Turkish Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin said during the farewell dinner, a year of intense work has been spent shaping the multilateral cooperation of the Black Sea region. At last it has become clear that the Black Sea Bank for Trade and Development will soon be open. A permanent secretariat is already operating. At the meeting the ministers have already agreed that in the next half year Sofia will play host to the secretariat.

Although exclusively economic issues were discussed at the conference, the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan was the subject of an individual tete-a-tete meeting between the Turkish minister and [Azerbaijani Foreign Minister] Tofik Gasymov and [Armenian Foreign Minister] Vanan Papazyan. The Turkish minister believes that an accord on a cease-fire has practically been reached. This was also confirmed by his colleagues from Armenia and Azerbaijan.

What is more, during your correspondent's meeting with Hikmet Cetin, he said that the day before yesterday, during the meeting with Ruslan Khasbulatov, they discussed a trip by Boris Yeltsin to Turkey as a separate issue. This trip is important because many documents relating to economic and political issues have accumulated which Boris Yeltsin should sign with [Turkish President] Suleyman Demirel in Ankara.

[Announcer] The very fact that it was precisely Ruslan Khasbulatov who agreed on the visit to Turkey by Boris Yeltsin evokes emotion.

China Expresses Regret Over Detention of Russian Ship

LD1906083893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in Russian 0724 GMT 19 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Grigoriy Arslanov]

[Text] Beijing June 19 TASS—The Chinese Foreign Ministry expressed deep regret and brought apologies in connection with the illegal detention of the Russian ship Soyuz-4 on 9 June, describing the incident as an error, the Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman told a representative of the Russian Embassy in Beijing on Saturday.

The ministry admitted that the Russian vessel was outside Chinese territorial waters at the time of its seizure.

The spokesman noted that the detention was erroneously committed by local Chinese authorities during an operation to fight smuggling. He stressed that the Chinese authorities will take measures to prevent such incidents in future.

The Russian Embassy representative was also told that the Chinese Foreign Ministry has no information, so far, about attacks on other Russian ships.

Official Apology Given

OW1806091793 Tokyo KYODO in English 0836 GMT 18 Jun 93

[Text] Beijing, June 18 KYODO—China officially apologized Friday [18 June] for illegally boarding a Russian fish processor and admitted that the ship has been detained in international waters.

"They said that their customs officials were pursuing other, presumably Chinese, ships in the area and mistakenly captured the Russian boat ... The Chinese expressed deep regret over the incident," a Russian diplomat, who refused to be named, said in Beijing.

A Soyuz 4 fish processor bound from Nakhodka to Singapore was diverted to a military port on Putuo island off Zhejiang Province, on June 9 and released by Chinese authorities June 13.

The Chinese side did not offer any compensation for their breaching of international maritime law but did provide fuel and provisions for the crew, the diplomat said.

When the unmarked Chinese vessel first approached the Russian ship, no radio contact was made.

According to ITAR-TASS NEWS AGENCY, three other Russian boats were attacked by Chinese ships Thursday.

The Russian Embassy in Beijing requested that the Chinese Foreign Ministry make an inquiry into these incidents and was told that no official information was available Friday.

In a similar incident in February, China apologized to Japan for firing upon a Japanese Maritime Safety Agency vessel, also in international waters.

China, which has been making efforts to control rampant smuggling along its long coastline, has been accused of attacking or boarding ships from Vietnam, Taiwan, Japan, the Philippines and Hong Kong.

Use of military-like tactics in these raids has prompted some observers to link the acts to China's recent military buildup and to its territorial claims in the East China Sea and the Spratly Islands in the South China Sea.

Details Provided by PRC Authorities

OW1906132693 Vladivostok Radiostantsiya Tikhiy Okean Maritime Network in Russian 0715 GMT 15 Jun 93

[From the "Pacific Ocean" program]

[Excerpt] We have already reported on the detention of a Soyuz-4 Kamchatka fishing trawler by a PRC naval ship. The trawler was captured on its way from Nakhodka to Singapore in an act of piracy. The Chinese authorities released the captured vessel yesterday. We have asked our Kamchatka correspondent Vladimir Kuchin to comment on this event.

[Begin Kuchin recording] A lot has been said last week about the sea-fishing Kamchatka BMRT [large refrigerated fishing trawler] Soyuz-4 based in Petropavlovsk. Regrettably, the central mass media and the Ostankino television and radio company, including Radio Rossii, were not particularly fussy in their search for reliable sources of information about the events surrounding the detention of the Soyuz-4.

The incident happened in the East China Sea, 120 miles from China's shores, and experts maintain that, although the spot where the vessel was captured is well within Japan's economic zone, it certainly is not within China's. In addition, no southeastern sea pirates had anything to do with the detention of the vessel; it was carried out by the naval forces of the East China Sea, who assumed from the silhouette of the trawler that it was a fishing vessel. In reality, the Soyuz-4 has not been engaged in fishing for a long time and now works as a cargo ship. Having gathered all the hard facts from first-hand witnesses, I cannot help wondering why the Chinese Navy had been so cavalier, so harsh, and so boorish in its detention of our Kamchatka sailors. After all, the Chinese troopers opened fire with automatic weapons; they shot at the Soyuz-4 with heavy machine guns and submachine guns. The conclusion is pretty obvious to me: The action was unquestionably carried out as retaliation for the detention of the [words indistinct] Chinese industrial fishing vessel of the Liaoning Company from the city of Dalian—or Dalniy, as we call it. The ship was detained by Nikolay Zuyev, a senior inspector of Okhotskrybvod [Okhotsk Fishing Farming] in March 1993.

Our ship was detained on 9 June and released on 12 June. While the shooting was under way, Captain Viktor Nikolayevich Kulikov was burning secret documents in his cabin, and Yuriy Grigoryevich Yefimskiy, chief of radio communications, used a lifeboat radio intended for deck communication to contact the Russian tanker Champion, which today sails under the flag of Panama. Soyuz-4 was escorted to the port of (?Mindao) and then transferred to the naval base of (?Shidao). So how was this shameful procedure of detention carried out? A sentry with a submachine gun was placed in front of every cabin, everyone was herded to the mess hall, and all officers were ordered to leave the ship. Captain Kulikov firmly upheld the honor of the Russian flag. He ordered the officers to remain on board and followed the authorities to shore accompanied by his radio operator.

The interrogation lasted all night, but our sailors refused to answer any questions and demanded that representatives of the Russian Embassy be present during interrogation. While the Chinese dragged their feet with arranging the arrival of Russian representatives, the captain and the radio operator declared a hunger strike. Thus, the Chinese authorities had no choice but to let the detainees go, so as to avoid further aggravating the situation. The captain and the radio operator were back on the ship, which had been put on roadstead, on 11 June. An admiralty motor boat brought a Chinese captain first rank aboard, who apologized to the captain and the crew and handed him some kind of bogus certificate without a translation or a seal, upon which they parted.

As to reports by Ostankino television to the effect that Chinese authorities had provided the Soyuz-4 with diesel fuel, Chinese snacks, and other goods—all this is absolutely false. The vessel was fully fueled, the crew is healthy, and there are no injuries. The ship is now sailing for Singapore to take a cargo of 400 tonnes of diesel oil, and will return to Kamchatka in early July.

Thus, the whole escapade lasted three days. But in the case of the Chinese trawler [word indistinct] it lasted two months and four days. The Chinese crew had worked at sea for eight and a half months, they were placed at a pier in the Petropavlovsk fishing port, and not a single crew member was allowed ashore during the two months. According to international maritime law and the laws of the Russian state, we had to review the ship's offenses and hand a court sentence within 14 days. We are the ones us who must draw conclusions first and foremost. [end recording]

Vice Admiral Deplores PRC Maritime Harassment

PM1806134793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Jun 93 First Edition p 3

[Gennadiy Charodeyev report: "Chinese Attacks on Our Ships Continuing"]

[Excerpts] Hardly had the scandal of the seizure of the Russian fishing trawler Soyuz-4 "in error" by Chinese border guards in the East China Sea died down than the Chinese again attacked two of our civilian transport vessels—the Tokarevsk and the Kovdor. [passage omitted]

Vice admiral Igor Khmelnov, first deputy commander of the Pacific Fleet, told your ITAR-TASS correspondent in Vladivostok that he is incensed at such actions (since the beginning of the year there have been 14 incidents involving the Chinese) and considers it the direct duty of naval seamen to protect the interests of Russia's merchant fleet. The fleet command has decided to ask the Russian defense minister and the government to enable and empower it to defend our country's national interests and protect peaceful navigation in the Yellow Sea and the East China Sea.

Border Trade With PRC Reaches New Record Levels

OW1906090393 Vladivostok Radio Vladivostok Network in Russian 0220 GMT 16 Jun 93

[From the "Lunch Hour Break" program]

[Text] The volume of the border trade between Russia and China's Heilongjiang Province—which borders

Maritime and Khabarovsk Krays and Amur Oblast—in the first five months of this year has risen to a record level of 1.36 billion Swiss francs. According to the XINHUA NEWS AGENCY, the turnover of goods has increased 103 percent compared with the same period last year. It is remarkable that the significant part in the overall volume of the Chinese imports is composed of Russian aircraft, automobiles, steel, and petrochemical industry products.

The number of border crossing control points, along a border that stretches for over 3,000 km, has recently increased from three to 20. By the end of May 1993, Heilongjiang and Russia, as well as other CIS countries, had signed 250 technical and economic cooperation agreements.

North Korean Fishing Boats Detained, Released

LD2106075493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0642 GMT 21 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Leonid Vinogradov]

[Text] Nakhdoka June 21 TASS—A Russian coast guard ship detained two North Korean vessels illegally fishing in the Bay of Peter the Great in the Sea of Japan, but did not arrest them.

The border guards, under the command of Captain Pyotr Shulgin, drew up protocols about the illegal fishing as the Koreans had no permission to work in Russian territorial waters and then allowed the vessels to leave.

The captain of the ship which is returning to its base now said the protocols will be handed over to the Russian fishing committee which will decide on the punishment for the poachers.

However, he provided no explanations while the violators were released and not arrested.

Hungarian President Goncz Views Joint Relations

LD2006133393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1237 GMT 20 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Zhirnikhin]

[Text] Budapest, June 20 (TASS)—"I regard relations that have now developed between Hungary and Russia as very good ones," Hungarian President Arpad Goncz told ITAR-TASS on the eve of his official working trip to the Russian Federation.

"Beyond any doubt, last year's official visit to Budapest by Russian President Boris Yeltsin gave a new impulse to bilateral relations and contributed to deideologising them.

"To Budapest, Moscow is an extremely important partner from the viewpoint of both politics and economics. At present, between Hungary and Russia, there are no political or economic obstacles which would complicate or put barriers in the path of the development of mutually beneficial bilateral cooperation.

"To a considerable extent, the positions of Hungary and Russia are made similar by the circumstance that the two countries attach paramount importance to the position and the observance of the rights of ethnic minorities and signed a bilateral declaration to this effect. It is from similar positions that Budapest and Moscow approach the problem of resolving the crisis on the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

"Incidentally, this subject is most likely to be discussed in detail during my meeting with President Boris Yeltsin," the head of the Hungarian state said.

"Russia, taking upon itself a great peace-making role in eliminating the Bosnian conflict and using its political weight and influence in the world, is practically carrying out an 'all-European mission' in resolving the Yugoslav conflict.

"Naturally, there are also certain difficulties in relations between the two countries, specifically those in the development of economic and trade ties," the Hungarian president said.

"So far, the volume of bilateral trade does not accord with the existing possibilities in this respect and, in the final analysis, with historical traditions.

"Strong and stable economic contacts with Russia and other CIS countries are vitally important to Hungary, particularly to its northern and eastern regions, for they were for decades directly oriented towards the former Soviet market and were actively involved in inter-state co-production arrangements".

Goncz attached much importance to the circumstance that Russia, which undertook to pay the debt of the former Soviet Union to Hungary, will repay part of the debt resultant of deliveries of military hardware. The deliveries will run at 800 million U.S. Dollars. According to the president, the Hungarian National Army is utterly interested in this because a large part of its armaments is in need of replacement or modernisation.

In conclusion the president of Hungary pointed out that his tour of a number of regions of Russia during the visit would also make it possible to activate the "Finno-Ugric" factor in the constructive development of contacts between Hungary and Russia.

Arrives in Moscow on Visit

LD2006183093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1739 GMT 20 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Ryabikin]

[Text] Moscow June 20 TASS—President Arpad Goncz of Hungary arrived here on Sunday evening for an official visit.

While in Russia, the Hungarian president is scheduled to meet Russian President Boris Yeltsin for exchanging views on issues of political and economic cooperation between the Hungarian Republic and the Russian Federation in the light of agreements reached during the visit by the Russian president to Hungary last November. The Hungarian president is also expected to take a tour of a number of Russia's republics and regions, namely Bashkortostan, the Komi Republic, the Mari El Republic, Mordovia, Tatarstan, Udmurtia and the Khanty-Mansi autonomous district.

Shakhray on Abkhazian, Ossetian-Ingushetia Conflicts

LD2006223993 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 20 Jun 93

[Interview with Deputy Prime Minister Sergey Shakhray by unidentified announcer in Shakhray's office; from the "Itogi" news program—recorded]

[Text] We have learned from trustworthy sources that the situation in the areas of the Ossetian-Ingush and Georgian-Abkhazian conflicts may exacerbate next week. Does the Russian Government know anything about it? If the answer is yes, then what kind of measures may be taken by the Russian side? I have put this question to Russian Deputy Prime Minister Sergey Shakhray.

[Shakhray] Yes, such information exists and we have analyzed it. If one is to speak about the Ossetian-Ingush conflict, the Russian Federation Government has drawn up measures for a stage-by-stage return of refugees. The plan is very simple—to return the citizens of North Ossetia of Ingush nationality who were officially registered and who were not involved in combat operations during the conflict in October-November last year.

I would like to stress here that the return is to be gradual. But as it turned out, this plan did not suit certain forces in the area of the Ingush conflict, and the Ossetian leadership failed to support it.

One should point out the fact that the plan did not envisage any unilateral territorial revision or introduction of any kind of special forms of governing, as rumors say. Since this plan was rejected, I have information and my personal experience, so to speak, tells me to believe that events may develop according to the following scenario: More casualties will appear among the Ossetians and Ingushis, more hostages will be taken, mass disorders will be staged, armed clashes may take place, irregulars and Mafia will join in...

[Announcer, interrupting] ...and then Russian troops will get involved.

[Shakhray] ...and using Russian military, an attempt will be made to maintain the status quo and to try and prove yet again that it is impossible to resolve the problem of refugees. Both sides will blame Moscow again and there will be talk of Moscow's involvement. Taking into account the situation, the Russian Federation Government issued some necessary instructions. Internal troops of the Russian Federation were put on combat readiness. We will not allow unnecessary bloodshed and casualties. I would like to state here with full responsibility that the extremist forces of Ossetia and Ingushetia, and partly the leaders of these republics, will be entirely blamed for any bloodshed.

Already, on Wednesday this week, leaders of Ossetia and Ingushetia are invited to come to Moscow to try and resolve the conflict.

[Announcer] As for the situation in the area of the Abkhazian- Georgian conflict, where is the threat of a new outbreak of confrontation coming from?

[Shakhray] There are several factors, including the latest information on preparations for escalating such a conflict. There may be the following mechanism here: To accuse Russian leaders of having no stance, of an attempt to conclude a separate treaty with Georgian leaders and thus, move away from resolving the conflict.

An appeal to fraternal peoples of North Caucasus to prevent this is made and the local conflict turns into the conflict of the entire region of North Caucasus, merges with the conflict in Ossetia and Ingushetia and political forces, who are for separating this region from the Russian Federation, can then fish in these troubled waters.

Therefore, I, as the chairman of the Committee on Issues of the Federation and Nationalities, yesterday made a statement that made public the Georgian-Abkhazian settlement plan that we believe the sides should adopt. Abkhazia and South Ossetia should be guaranteed autonomy and a special status within an integral Georgia, using relations within the Federation and the Federation Treaty.

The Russian Federation, other states, or international organizations may act as guarantors of such autonomy, of such relations. On the basis of this political decision, it will be possible to talk about putting an end to the shooting, separating the sides and using peacemaking forces.

[Announcer] What about allegations that Russia is going to conclude a full-scale treaty with Georgia behind the back of the Abkhazian people?

[Shakhray] I think that the full-scale treaty with Georgia prior to the settlement of the Abkhazian-Georgian armed conflict will be at variance with the national security interests of the Russian Federation. The order here should be the following: A political settlement of the conflict, guaranteed autonomy, and a special status for Abkhazia and South Ossetia...

[Announcer, interrupting] ...the preservation of Georgia as one state.

[Shakhray] ...the preservation of the territorial integrity of Georgia and on the basis of this, a full-scale treaty between Georgia and the Russian Federation. Any other order is simply unreal.

[Announcer] Thank you.

Committee Asks Georgia To Grant Autonomy to Rebel Regions

LD1906192993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1703 GMT 19 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow June 19 TASS—Russia called on Georgia to grant the status of autonomy to two breakaway rebel regions of Abkhazia and South Ossetia as the only way out of the conflict and pledged to act as a guarantor of the status.

The Russian State Committee on Federation Affairs and Nationalities said in a statement on Saturday that respecting the sovereingty and territorial integrity of Georgia it sees the recognition by the Georgian leadership of the autonomous status of Abkhazia and South Ossetia and the establishment of federative relations within the integral Georgian state as the only reasonable way out of the crisis for the peoples of the Caucasus.

"The recognition of such political formula of the final settlement will deny trump cards to extremist-minded elements and will allow to energetically and resolutely move forward in ceasing fire, disengaging the warring sides, and creating efficient mechanisms of control over the reached agreements", the committee said.

"The truth is that the war will smoulder unless complicated, but the only possible political decisions are adopted", it stated calling on the conflicting sides to display responsibility and political courage, refrain from the use of force and clearly define the framework of a possible compromise.

The document warned that that there are signs that the conflict will flare up again as extremists want to solve it by force. "Special concern in this connection is caused by the refusal of the Abkhazian side to sign a reached agreement on a ceasefire and the mechanism of its verification", it said.

"Such turn of developments cannot leave the peoples of the Russian Federation indifferent. Strictly abiding by the principle of non-interference into internal affairs of other states, including Georgia, Russia cannot and has no right to make face that developments in Abkhazia do not concern it in any way", the committee said. [sentence as received]

Government Statement on Conflict

LD2006094993 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0830 GMT 20 Jun 93

[Text] The Russian State Committee for the Affairs of the Federation has made a statement in connection with the aggravation of the situation in the area of the Abkhazian-Georgian conflict. The state committee expressed hope that perhaps the only way out for the peoples of the Caucasus is the recognition by the Georgian leadership of an autonomous status of Abkhazia and South Ossetia and consolidation of federal relations within the framework of the integral Georgian state.

Humanitarian Operation in Abkhazia Close to Completion

LD1906152993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1415 GMT 19 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Irina Schegoleva]

[Text] Sochi June 19 TASS—700 mostly Russian refugees from the besieged Abkhazian city of Tkvarcheli were delivered by a landing craft to the Black Sea spa of Pitsunda on Saturday and another 1,025 refugees from the city will arrive to Sochi later in the day. Thus Russia will successfully complete its humanitarian mission to the zone of conflict despite various problems.

The operation did not go smoothly and chairman of the Russian State Committee for Emergency Situations Sergey Shoigu told TASS that two attacks were made on the humanitarian convoy.

On the way from Ochamchira to Sukhumi the last trucks of the convoy were fired at and an artillery shell exploded near the Russian landing craft which was boarding refugees in Sukhumi early on Saturday. Luckily, nobody was hurt, according to the chairman.

"The action took place with big difficulties", Shoigu said, adding that the operation was impeded also by bad weather, poor roads and landslides.

However, he said his committee "has fulfilled all obligations before the Georgian and Abkhazian sides and, what is more important, before Russian citizens. I would like them all to know and remember—Russia will not leave them in trouble", he stressed.

This was the second Russian humanitarian operation in the zone of conflict. The convoy brought 200 tonnes of food and medicines to Tkvarcheli and over 3,000 refugees were evacuated from Tkvarcheli and Sukhumi. The first operation was held in January-February. A total of 2,000 tonnes of humanitarian aid were delivered and 4,414 refugees evacuated.

Shoigu hopes that the mission might serve as a good beginning of the good end of the conflict in Abkhazia. He stressed that representatives of the conflicting sides have become closer while preparing the mission, began to work together and find ways for mutual understanding.

However, the end of the mission signals the end of a temporary ceasefire announced by both sides to allow the trip of the humanitarian convoy.

Still Shoigu called on the warring sides "not to miss the favourable moment for a transition to a complete settlement created by the cooperation of the sides during the humanitarian mission".

Foreign Ministry Issues Statement on Rights in Estonia

LD1806143993 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1300 GMT 18 Jun 93

[Text] The position of the Russian-speaking population in Estonia is worsening, and the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry issued a statement on the subject today. The statement points out that the worst fears are being realized and that the authorities in Tallinn are bent on confrontation. The admission of Estonia into the Council of Europe is being seen not as an advance payment or as an incentive to improve the position of the population, but as a blessing being given to the creation of a monoethnic state in Estonia.

Following the adoption of a discriminatory law that deprives the Russian-speaking population of the right to be elected to local self-government organs, the Republic's State Assembly approved, in its first reading, a draft law on foreigners which completely disregards the realities that have taken shape within the country and declares all noncitizens of Estonia who do not have a residence permit to be foreigners. In other words, they are, in effect, illegal immigrants.

If this law comes into force, the Foreign Ministry statement stresses, hundreds of thousands of Estonia's inhabitants will be stripped of their social guarantees and doomed to having no political rights. Additional obstacles will be introduced for them in terms of being given the right to live and work. There is no doubt that this will create a real threat of internal conflict.

The Russian Foreign Ministry urges the authorities in the Estonian Republic to display common sense and statesmanship, to halt a further slide toward a dangerous confrontation with Russia, and to prevent an interethnic explosion within their own country.

Agreement Ready on Granting Credit to Armenia

LD1806124993 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1100 GMT 18 Jun 93

[Text] The Russian Council of Ministers is prepared to grant to the Armenian Government a state credit for 1993 amounting to 20 billion rubles [R]. The relevant draft intergovernmental agreement has been approved by a resolution signed by Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin. Under the draft, more than a quarter of the sum of the credit is intended for purchasing Russian oil and oil products; R5 billion is for purchasing agricultural products, and R4.7 million for products of the military-industrial complex. [all figures as heard]

Baltic Fleet Commander Views Revised Role

AU2106092693 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 0400 GMT 21 Jun 93

[Interview with Admiral Vladimir Yegorov, commander in chief of the Baltic Fleet, by Robert Baag; place and date not given—recorded, Yegorov statements in Russian with superimposed German translation]

[Text] In a speech to navy officers of the Baltic Fleet in Baltisk in the middle of March this year, Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev stated, among other things, that Russia's military position must remain strong because extremists from Germany and other neighboring countries are announcing that they want to annex the Kaliningrad area. Robert Baag had an opportunity of asking Admiral Vladimir Yegorov, commander in chief of the Baltic Fleet, how he assesses this problem. First, however, Baag wanted to know whether it is true that up to 150,000 soldiers are stationed in the Kaliningrad area, which is about the same size as Schleswig-Holstein. Admiral Yegorov replied:

[Yegorov] The figure 150,000 is three times the real number; 50,000 is realistic. Russia's President Boris Yeltsin announced a comprehensive reform of the Armed Forces in January this year. According to his plans, the overall strength of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation will be reduced 1.5 million in the future. One-tenth in the Kaliningrad oblast is not realistic.

[Baag] The West interpreted Kozyrev's statement as an indication that a considerable number of soldiers—members of the Army and the Navy—will continue to be deployed in this area. The political reason he gave were alleged annexation desires of extremists.

[Yegorov] Foreign Minister Kozyrev may have more information. At my level—the military level—I do not know about such phenomena. Extremists naturally exist, but there is nothing exceptional about this. They have no immediate influence here.

[Baag] What role should the Baltic Fleet play in the future, in relationship with NATO?

[Yegorov] Russia's Armed Forces will safeguard Russia's interests in the area of the Baltic Sea, but in a defensive manner according to a doctrine currently being drafted and which has to be confirmed. Basically, it will be a defense doctrine. The Baltic Fleet will assume a special task in this reform, which focuses on defense. Its strength will certainly be lower than today. It will have two bases—one in Leningrad and one in Kaliningrad. The actual operation radius of the Baltic Fleet has also changed. Since there are three new states—the Baltic republics—in the old operation area, its sphere of activities has decreased. This has also led to a change in priorities, particularly because of geographical aspects.

As far as cooperation with fleets from other Baltic states is concerned, there is a tendency toward cooperation and this will be continued.

[Baag] You just referred to Russia's role as a protective power. The task of every Russian army and fleet is the protection of Russian territory. This is the reason for its existence. Does this also include safeguarding the interests of the Slav population in the Baltic republics, that is in Estonia and Latvia, if necessary.

[Yegorov] No. The Baltic Fleet does not want to and cannot assume such a role. Armed protection forces, that is military personnel, that are stationed in the territory of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, are identical with the former Soviet Armed Forces deployed there. They behave in accordance with the role that has been assigned to them. The strength of the troops is small, and, in addition, these units will be withdrawn in the future. In any case, the Baltic Fleet is not involved here.

[Baag] Let me ask you a question about the lack of housing for soldiers. What has become of the interesting offer to Lithuania and Latvia regarding the supply of military technology of the Baltic Fleet to these countries in return for new apartments for soldiers in Kaliningrad oblast?

[Yegorov] I would like to give you a small example. I knew that you would ask me this question. It is not necessary to go to Lithuania or Latvia. Such apartments are being constructed in the center of Kaliningrad. A block of 4,000 apartments is being built in Gorkiy road. The apartments will ready for occupancy in one month.

[Baag] Will this be a nonrecurring experiment or will it be continued?

[Yegorov] One cannot expect too much in return for the two ships that have been given to Lithuania. This program will extend over several years. The defense ministers of Russia and Lithuania also agreed to train experts at colleges in (name indistinct) central Russia and at the naval college in Kaliningrad. In addition, we would offer contracts for the maintenance of ships. I am confident that this process will continue.

[Baag] How much longer will Baltisk continue to be closed for western visitors?

[Yegorov] Baltisk is not closed for western tourists. However, there is a certain admission procedure for trips to the district of Baltisk. It is based on a decree by the Russian Federation issued in 1992. Thus, Baltisk is not a so-called closed town. Yet if somebody wants to visit military units or warships, he must first submit a request to the general staff in Moscow. However, this is a procedure applied throughout the whole world.

Western Group of Forces Continues Withdrawal From Germany

LD1906163093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1456 GMT 19 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Konstantin Savvin]

[Text] Berlin, 19 Jun—By the end of May, 255,250 servicemen of the Western Group of Forces and 142,100 civilians, as well as members of their families, had been withdrawn from the territory of Germany. This means that, of the Russian servicemen stationed in Germany at the time that withdrawal of the Western Group of Forces began in January 1991, three-fourths have been sent home. This information is given in a Western Group of Forces press center report, published today, on the 13th meeting of the Working group for the systematic withdrawal of the Western Group of Forces from the territory of the Federal Republic that was held on Friday.

By the end of May, the Western Group of Forces had removed over 88,000 pieces of equipment and armament and 1.8 million tonnes of logistic supplies, including 532,000 tonnes of ammunition, to new locations in the homeland. These results of troop withdrawal coincide with previous plans.

The Western Group of Forces press center report points out that the members of the working committee, which includes representatives from the Western Group of Forces and the Bundeswehr, have agreed on the plan for the withdrawal of Russian troops in the third quarter of this year. In particular, the plan envisages the removal of troops by the Western Group of Forces from 20 more settlements.

Parliament Delegation Ends Visit to WGF

LD2006210093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1630 GMT 20 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Konstantin Savvin]

[Text] Berlin, 20 Jun—A group of Russian parliamentarians today completed its work in the Western Group of Forces [WGF]. The deputies spent a week considering various aspects of a Russian Council of Ministers draft resolution, currently in the pipeline, "on additional measures to organize the reception and accommodation of Russian troops being withdrawn from the FRG to the Russian Federation." They also assessed the work of law enforcement bodies in the WGF.

The parliamentary group is led by Aleksandr Korovnikov, chairman of the committee for disabled people, war and labor veterans, and social protection of servicemen and their families under the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet; and by Nikolay Makarov, first deputy procurator general of the Russian Federation for the duration of the work of a special commission of the Russian Procuracy General, which is studying materials on corruption among officials.

In the opinion of the people's deputies, the results of their work make it possible to define the best ways of implementing the Russian Supreme Soviet resolution dated 14 May 1993, "on additional measures to organize the reception and accommodation of Russian troops being withdrawn from foreign states to the territory of the Russian Federation," says a release of the WGF press center. It is deemed appropriate to support the suggestion of the WGF command that 13 military cantonments with a total of 14,115 apartments be built this year. Moreover, a requirement is that most of this housing be commissioned by the end of 1993 and in the first quarter of 1994.

The press release highlights the difficult situation in which the troop withdrawal is taking place. Criminal elements from Russia, Ukraine, the Transcaucasus, and other countries of the former USSR are concentrating around the military camps of the WGF. They are involved in armed robbery, stealing, and speculation. At the same time, citizens of the FRG are continuing to commit crimes against WGF personnel. Thus, in 1992, right-wing extremists claimed 50 victims, 9 of whom were killed. Two people were killed and 8 injured in the first five months of this year.

Summing up their work, the parliamentary group noted the healthy moral and psychological atmosphere in the military and labor collectives, the consistent line adopted by the WGF command in the strict fulfillment of the treaty obligations on the temporary deployment of Russian troops in the FRG, and the high degree of organization of their return to Russia. This is stressed in the WGF press release.

Joint Norwegian Seminar on Cooperation in Arctic Seas Ends

LD2006133793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1237 GMT 20 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correpondent Vladimir Novikov]

[Text] Murmansk, June 20 (TASS)—A Russo-Norwegian seminar on Arctic Seas ended here on Sunday. It was attended by representatives of the Norwegian Government, the Russian Foreign Ministry, fishing control and coast guard, pilot and rescue services, and ecologists of the two countries. The seminar focused on matters aimed at regulating fisheries and the rational utilisation of the biological resources of Barents Sea and possibilities for the use of the Arctic route.

"The so-called Barents region has long been regarded as an outlying area. Nowadays such a point of view appears outdated," Elsa Eriksen, state secretary at the Norwegian Defence Ministry, told ITAR-TASS at the close of the seminar.

"During the cold war period, Arctic areas were the strategic point where the interests of great powers intersected and until recently the tendency of upholding security policy interests was observed in relations between neighbouring countries. The old historical relations both on land and at sea are being gradually restored now," she said.

Nakhodka Official Protests 'Disembarkation' of UK Tourists

LD1906111093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1024 GMT 19 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Leonid Vinogradov]

[Text] Nakhodka (Russian Far East) June 19 TASS—A deplorable incident when a border guard patrol put ashore British tourists Steven Widefield and Fiona Hashi from the Russian freighter Sasha Kotov in the Nakhodka port in the dead of the night entailed unexpected consequences.

The Britons intended to go to Japan from Nakhodka. They had appropriate documents for crossing the Russian border, and they paid 140 U.S. dollars each to the Far Eastern sea shipping line as fares for their trip. Nevertheless, border guards suspended their trip without any explanations. The tourists roamed aimlessly in Nakhodka for a week until they left for Japan by another Russian ship.

This incident angered head of the Nakhodka Free Economic Zone Administration Igor Ustinov. He described the disembarkation of foreign tourists from the ship as a crude violation of human rights by border guards and sent a letter of complaint to the Russian Constitutional Court.

Ustinov had initially tried to find out from the command of the Nakhodka border check-point what was the reason for putting the tourists ashore. The border guards referred to orders given to them but refused to explain their nature and even the number of the document.

Ustinov described the border guards' actions as an attempt to restore old methods which were used by the KGB to lord it over secretly. Such incidents can happen at any Russian port. Therefore, Ustinov decided to turn to the Constitutional Court, since he believes that the border guards will be forced to surrender their "secret" orders to the court.

Navy Detachments To Visit Canada, Denmark

PM2106085793 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Jun 93 p 2

[Vladimir Maryukha report: "Ships' Visits"]

[Text] A detachment of ships of the Northern Fleet comprising the missile cruiser Marshal Ustinov, the large ASW ship Admiral Kharlamov, and the tanker Dnestr is en route for the Canadian port of Halifax. The schedule for the official visit, being paid by Russian seamen under the flag of Admiral Oleg Yerofeyev, commander of the Northern Fleet, makes provision for

meetings with men of the Canadian Navy and performances by the Northern Fleet's song and dance group. Some 20 students from Russia's naval schools, improving their extended patrol expertise, are taking part in the visit.

Russian seamen will begin an official trip to Denmark next week. The training ship Perekop and the hydrographic vessel Sibiryakov under the flag of Rear Admiral Vladimir Grishanov, commander of the Leningrad Naval Base, will call at Copenhagen 24-26 June.

Various Russian Aircraft Exhibited at Paris Air Show

LD1906091893 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2000 GMT 18 Jun 93

[Reporty by Mikhail Zotov; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Stock was taken today from the first results of the work of the Russian delegation of aircraft builders at the Le Bourget air show near Paris. Immediately afterwards France began to speak of Russian air expansion on the western market.

Almost all our design offices and production associations signed profitable contracts to supply aircraft being jointly produced with Western firms. The Ilyushin representatives managed to sell seven Il-96-M airliners to the leasing company (?Partnairs) for 68 million dollars apiece.

Rivals thronged around the latest Russian super fighting machine the Ka-50 Black Shark military helicopter which is fitted with 30-mm cannon. As a result, the selling price of the Shark rose to 14 million dollars.

Helicopters produced by the Mil design office and fitted with the latest systems will also, it seems, fly in many countries of the world.

In the class of super-light aircraft, the Russian Aviatika firm concluded about 50 profitable contracts to supply its MAI-800 and presented its new Akrobat aircraft which will be flying at the Zhukovskiy air show. At Le Bourget Aviatika's MAI-800 was named the safest superlight aircraft in the world.

The aircraft of the Sukhoy and Mikoyan design offices continued to stir the imagination of Western rivals. Although they are having difficulty in expanding their presence in the military aircraft market, it became clear at Le Bourget that the process is now under way.

Exhibitors Interviewed on Products

LD2106121893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1156 GMT 21 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Igor Kuleshov and Nikolay Novichkov]

[Text] Paris June 21 TASS—"Black Shark" and "Werewolf" were painted on two unique Russian helicopters of new generation Ka-50, constructed by Kamov aircraft company and presented at the air-space show in Le Bourget in France. This unique coaxial combat helicopter with the strongest armaments successfully demonstrated its excellent flying possibilities. The 40th international air-space show finished work.

"Western aviation specialists were impressed by the long distance airbus Il-96M, constructed by 'Ilyushin' association, medium range plane Tu-204 of 'Bravia' Russian-British corporation, aircrafts Yak-42A, Yak-54 and Yak-58 of the 'Yak' association, improved versions of known fighters MiG-29 and Su-27, combat and transport helicopters. Each of them attracted attention of specialists and was examined very carefully. One can say the same about the airplanes of Ukraine, for example fire plane An-32 of Antonov aircraft company", said Felix Myasnikov, the director general of "Aviaexport" company.

He also pointed that Il-96M and Tu-204 with western engines, onboard electronics and interior have great perspectives on the international market. "Aviaexport" intends to join with the "Bravia" corporation for marketing different versions of Tu-204.

"Russian Tu-204 is a strong competitor for western planes of 'Airbus Industry' consortium. Someone tried to prevent Tu-204 from its demonstration. For example there were hard restrictions of altitude and flight-test zone for Tu-204 although there were no restrictions for aircraft of the 'Airbus Industry'. Besides, the Tu-204 flying schedule interfired with that of combat fighters. The noise of their engines didn't give the possibility to appreciate the low level of the Tu-204 engines' noise. However all the best Tu-204 characteristics will be displayed to potential buyers at the first Russian air space show be held in Moscow from August 31 to September 5", according to Nikolay Kachalov, deputy director general of aircraft production complex in Ulyanovsk, a city on the Volga river.

There as always a lot of people near "Marsohod",the vehicle for Mars in the pavilion of the French National Center of Space Research. It was constructed by the Lavochkin scientific production union. The "Marsohod" undercarriage, worked up by the St. Peterburg institute "Vniitransmash" will be equiped by the French stereovision system. This vehicle is being produced by Russia in cooperation with the USA, Germany and France and will be used in the programme of Mars exploration in 1996.

Foreign Ministry Spokesman Comments on OAS Meeting

LD1806184493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0842 GMT 18 Jun 93

[Report by ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Staroselskiy]

[Excerpts] Moscow, 18 Jun—The results of the 23rd session of the general assembly of the Organization of American States [OAS] in Managua have been highly appraised in Moscow, a spokesman of the Russian Federation Ministry of Foreign Affairs [not further identified] has stated. "In our view," he commented in an interview to the ITAR-TASS correspondent, "it is of great importance that those taking part in the forum concentrate upon an issue so very topical for Latin America and the entire world, namely strengthening the democratic and constitutional foundations of the development of society and making these universal for all the countries on the continent." [passage omitted: approval of Managua Declaration on preventive diplomacy and upgrading of OAS]

The Foreign Ministry spokesman noted that Moscow also followed the work of the session with great interest because Russia, which has the status of a permanent observer at the OAS, regards the ideas, decisions, and resolutions of the session through the prism of its own possible immediate involvement in various directions of OAS activity, and its participation in carrying out specific cooperation projects.

Obstacles to Russia's GATT Membership Eyed

PM1806135593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Jun 93 First Edition p 3

[Vladimir Mikheyev report: "Russia Admitted to GATT No Earlier Than 1995"]

[Text] "Sympathy, watchfulness, and patience"—that was the reaction of the GATT Council, according to the newspaper LES ECHOS, to Russia's official request for affiliation to this multilateral agreement. It was decided—with the complete unanimity of the council's members—to set up a working group to examine the request which Boris Yeltsin put last week to GATT Director General Arthur Dunkel.

Our interest is due to a whole series of factors. Let us recall that GATT—the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade—regulates such aspects of trade policy as the standardization and certification of output, import licensing, the assessment of commodities for customs purposes, export subsidy, antidumping measures, tariff restrictions, and so forth. In this regard, the member countries are committed to grant each other most-favored-nation status.

There is no need to explain how the lowering of tariff and nontariff barriers on our export goods could affect the trade balance. Russia's representatives plainly saw GATT membership as a powerful incentive to market reforms.

A. Stoler [as transliterated], head of the U.S. trade mission to GATT, expressed the opinion of many of his colleagues when he linked affiliation to this international agreement with the acceleration of the process of Russia's integration into the world economic system.

The EC's reaction to Moscow's step has also been "politically favorable." Previously, Moscow viewed GATT with considerable suspicion and claimed that the attempts to negotiate amicably still do not remove the "interimperialist foreign trade contradictions" that exist. The revision of these assessments is symptomatic, but it turns out that this is not enough to gain admission.

Receiving a membership card before the end of the year, the wish expressed by President Boris Yeltsin, seems impossible. As LES ECHOS writes, many people in GATT believe that "this is too much." The precondition, as in the case of the Western credits, is progress toward the market restructuring of the economy and, more specifically, Russia's fulfillment of a whole series of commitments within the GATT framework.

Hence the prediction that, since the "Uruguay Round" of talks is still making no progress, the procedure for examining the request will not enter the "active phase" until early 1994, and Russia's final acceptance as a member of GATT will take place at best no earlier than 1995.

IMF Criticized for Delaying Issue of Credit

PM1806122593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 17 Jun 93 p 2

[Yuriy Popov commentary: "IMF: Whenever Will Credit Be Provided?"]

[Text] The REUTER news agency—which journalists have become accustomed to believing—transmitted some very unexpected news the other day. According to its report, IMF Managing Director M. Camdessus has postponed a decision on allotting the first half of $3 billion credit to Russia, which was earmarked in accordance with the IMF systemic reforms program. As we know, the IMF agreed to grant this loan on more favorable terms than usual without waiting for Russia to fulfill its traditionally strict demands. World public opinion welcomed this step, taking our country's complicated financial position into consideration.

Some Russian and foreign observers had already begun to guess what this capital would be used for, figuring that it would prove to be just the thing for supporting the reforms in progress here. All the more so since the Board of Directors has to resolve this question at a session on 2 July, meaning that the money—$1.5 billion—would immediately be put at our disposal. However, taking the postponement into consideration, this trying on of clothes which have not yet been finished has proved premature.

What reasons prompted the managing director to lower the barrier? You can only speculate as to what they were. Several of our experts are of the opinion that it may have emerged during negotiations with Russia that Russia has not been quick enough to carry out particular obligations adopted under the credit agreements, so that now it is being reminded that it should hurry up and do what it

promised. It is possible, so people in IMF circles think, that the aim here is to "impel the Russian leadership to take more vigorous actions to stabilize the economy before the question of providing the loan will be put to the vote at the board." THE TIMES makes this supposition, noting that Moscow evidently could not produce a convincing plan for economic stabilization and reforms. A version was finally been put forward with which M. Camdessus wanted to appease the IMF bureaucrats, who had expressed dissatisfaction at the loan's being granted even though Russia is at the moment far from able to fully sustain the Fund's demands.

Whatever the truth may be, a reaction to this step was not slow to appear. And this is not surprising. Just last week Vice Premier A. Shokhin stated in Moscow: "We hope that the first tranche of $1.5 billion will be released before the Tokyo summit." But it now seems as though a step backward is being taken. Russian specialists put forward a version of events whereby the conditions which our side proposed do not entirely suit the IMF. But A. Shokhin made reference to the promise that the Fund made after the Russian Federation Government and the Central Bank signed a joint statement formulating pretty strict but at the same time realistic goals for our economic policy. Incidentally, the Russian Government is taking specific measures right now to make the country's budget for 1993 more balanced. The other day Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin signed a directive which stipulates a considerable reduction in budget appropriations. When he discovered M. Camdessus' intention, U.S. Treasury Secretary L. Bentsen said that he had discussed the question with him a few days previously and did not know the reason for the delay. He added that he was "disappointed" with the IMF's postponement decision.

Quite naturally, this step cannot create much enthusiasm in Russia. In the final count you cannot seriously consider that someone should "pressure" us and then "allot" something to us. Like other IMF members, we not only have obligations to it but also the right to receive what is due to us. After all, we are not simply talking about aid but credit, which Russia will return together with the requisite interest. That is, it will give back more than it takes, as is accepted in normal financial agreements: They are founded on mutual benefit.

I think that this question should be resolved in the shortest possible time. In this respect the most realistic solution is, in our opinion, outlined in L. Bentsen's assertion that he rather hopes that the problem may be settled, there will be no new postponements, and Russia will receive the credit before the summit in Japan. Incidentally, THE TIMES reported the day before yesterday that the IMF, which was "wounded by the U.S. treasury secretary's criticism concerning the delays in providing financial assistance to Russia," is ready to grant the first $1.5 billion even before the G-7 leaders' meeting in Tokyo in July. The newspaper added that the IMF resolutely rejects American accusations that it halted the provision of capital because of Russia's unconvincing plan for stabilization and reforms.

Well, if that really is the case, the ripples caused by all that has happened will not go far and the waves will soon die down.

Diplomat Argues Against Expanding UN Security Council

MK1806110093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 26, 18 Jun 93 (Signed to Press 17 Jun) p 3

[Vladimir Abarinov report: "Moscow Does Not Approve of UN Security Council Expansion. Foreign Ministry Thinks There Is No Need for This"]

[Text] The United States supports the claims by Germany and Japan to the seats of permanent members of the UN Security Council. This was announced the other day by Madeleine Albright, U.S. ambassador to the United Nations.

The issue of expanding the Security Council has been mulled over on the East River since 1979. Last December, the UN General Assembly, at its 47th session, finally adopted a resolution obligating the UN secretary general to present a report on the subject by 30 June. Those who share the U.S. stance may be interested in hearing Moscow's view.

A high-ranking Russian diplomat, speaking confidentially, was skeptical about certain countries' claims to permanent membership in the UN Security Council.

In the Russian Foreign Ministry's view, it would be much more productive now to focus on fully utilizing the potential of the UN Charter, frozen by the "Cold War," instead of revising it. It does provide possibilities for large regional powers to engage more actively in Security Council decisionmaking. For instance, there is Article 29 of the UN Charter stipulating that the Security Council has the right to set up auxiliary agencies. The article does not say that these bodies should consist of Security Council members alone. There is also a similar one, Article 47, which allows the setting up of auxiliary bodies, including regional ones, of the military staff committee, without defining their makeup. As a matter of fact, the diplomat noted, the experience of the settlement in Cambodia has shown that a framework can be found so that not only the permanent members of the Security Council can be involved in the decisionmaking process, but also other countries of key importance for the settlement of the conflict.

Another possibility, in Moscow's view, is to improve collaboration between the Security Council and the UN General Assembly by more clearly defining their functions under the UN Charter on the one hand, and by providing more information on their respective actions on the other. The Security Council could take the initiative in this respect. For example, the Security Council

chairman could regularly present reports to the General Assembly chairman on what was done by the council over the past month and what issues are scheduled for discussion in the upcoming month.

The potential of Article 8, regarding collaboration between the Security Council and regional organizations, could also be put to use. Some of these organizations have the status of permanent agencies of the UN General Assembly. We could think of these organizations' chairmen regularly attending Security Council meetings (as invited observers or in some other capacity) when subjects of their concern are to be discussed.

We are unequivocally for utilizing the UN Charter to the full extent, the prominent Russian diplomat said in conclusion. Until we see how the possibilities provided in it work, we can hardly talk about formalizing any lists of contenders. Moscow thinks this will be possible only after a consensus is reached in the Security Council itself as to whether it is advisable to consider the question of expanding it. As for specific candidates, the diplomat added, we will obviously be guided by our own national interests, our responsibility as a Security Council permanent member, and the status of bilateral relations.

Consular Service Chief on Illegal Immigration

LD2006113193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1111 GMT 20 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow June 20 TASS—Within the framework of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), there is, so far, no such notion as a political emigre, just as the Consular Service of the Russian Foreign Ministry has not been confronted with the need to grant political asylum to persons from other CIS countries, although, in principle, such a situation may arise, Vasily Vinogradov, chief of the consular service of the Russian Foreign Ministry, said in an interview with the DIPLOMATIC COURIER bulletin which is published by ITAR-TASS. In his view, one should speak of economic emigration, rather than political one.

The Consular Service chief is greatly concerned over a wave of illegal immigrants from some foreign countries, who arrive in Russia in the hope of moving subsequently to western countries. Vinogradov does not have available exact data on the scope of such immigration because the "problem is largely within the competence of the Interior Ministry".

"One can say," he remarked, "that the number of those who arrive in Russia on our planes and tear their passports is not large, whereas it is impossible to ascertain the number of those who penetrate Russian territory, for example, through the unguarded border with Azerbaijan."

"But I am confident that the figure mentioned in the press—about 120,000-150,000 illegal aliens—is largely overstated, as far as Somalis, Kurds and Ethiopians are concerned, anyhow," Vinogradov said.

Constitutional Issues

Filatov Remarks on Adopting New Constitution

LD2006220793 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 20 Jun 93

[From the "Itogi" news program presented by Yevgeniy Kiselev]

[Text] [Kiselev] Today we have in the Itogi studio Sergey Filatov, head of the Russian presidential administration.

Sergey Aleksandrovich, it is obvious that at some point in the final stages of the Constitutional Conference, the question of the mechanism for adopting a new constitution will be raised—the president made it quite clear once again while speaking to journalists before his departure to Yakutia. So how should it be adopted after all?

[Filatov] There are three factors that ought to determine the choice of the adoption procedure, as it were. These are: timescale—the thing has to be done as soon as possible; second, of course, legitimacy; and third, reliability of adoption. If we take the first two aspects, the Congress would be the best means for adopting the constitution. Legitimacy is certainly there, and the temporal aspect is also there; this would be the quickest possible way. But what is lacking totally is reliability.

[Kiselev] What exactly do you mean by reliability?

[Filatov] By reliability I mean whether we can be sure that the Congress will adopt it. I am just using a technical term, as it were. Another way is through a referendum. This is also possible. Absolutely legitimate, but there are difficulties with the procedure for calling the referendum. Therefore, in terms of timescale, we might have it protracted by the will of the Supreme Soviet.

[Kiselev] There is also a great degree of uncertainty as to whether there would be a quorum.

[Filatov] Quite right. In terms of the third aspect, we would need 50 percent of the electorate to push it through. However, since we can clearly see that one section of society is determined not to get involved in political affairs, this could have a fateful effect here. The main thing is that in this way we may well lose the constitution as such, because if less than 50 percent of the electorate vote for it, the constitution and its main provisions might be lost, since it will all be put into question.

There is a third way of adopting it—through a constituent assembly. The question is, how should it be formed? One possibility is to transform the Constitutional Conference—confidence in which as we can clearly see from all the indications in the country's political life, is now very high in society—to transform it into a constituent assembly. But it has be vested with legitimacy.

[Kiselev] But who is going to make this decision?

[Filatov] One way to do it is through a referendum.

The final option, the one which is currently actively backed by many democratic parties—I know they were even planning to speak at the last plenary session [on 16 June], and they probably will speak on the 26th [June]—is to immediately adopt a statute on elections. That is a very interesting proposal. So a new parliament is elected, and this new parliament would then adopt the constitution.

All the options are now being thoroughly assessed from all points of view—in legal terms and in terms of the three factors I have mentioned. So I think by the 26th we shall have made a well-grounded choice.

[Kiselev] Thank you, Sergey Aleksandrovich. Our studio guest was Sergey Filatov, head of the Russian presidential administration.

New Members Named to Constitution Drafting Panel

PM2106103593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 18 Jun 93 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Working Group Supplemented"]

[Text] By decree of the Russian Federation president, following the proposal of the groups of representatives at the Constitutional Conference, the following additional members have been included in the working commission on the finalization of the draft Russian Federation Constitution: Mark Masarskiy, president of the International Association of Enterprise Leaders; Tamara Morshchakova, Russian Federation Constitional Court judge; Valeriy Neverov, chairman of the "Germes" joint-stock company; Anatoliy Pchelintsev, member of the Union of Evangelical Baptist Christians; Yuriy Ryzhov, Russian Federation deputy; Marina Salye, cochairman of the Free Democratic Party of Russia; Boris Topornin, director of the Russian Academy of Sciences Institute of State and Law; Boris Ezbeyev, Russian Federation Constitutional Court judge.

Discussion on Constitutional Conference

LD2006202093

[Editorial Report] Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian at 1120 GMT on 20 June broadcasts the 40-minute "Live Dialogue" studio discussion program presented by Ostankino television observer Andrey Skryabin. The program participants are Yelena Vladimirovna Voldemarova, co-chairman of the Federation of Commodity Producers of Russia; Viktor Ivanovich Belov, representative of the president of Russia in Tver Oblast, member of the Committee for Legislation of the Supreme Soviet, and people's deputy of Russia. They are shown seated in the Moscow studio and are linked in a TV bridge with Nikolay Vasilyevich Biryukov, chairman of the Mordovian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, who is seated in a Saransk

television studio. Skryabin says that people can phone in questions to a multi-channel telephone in the studio, and gives the phone number to call.

Skryabin starts by saying that today's program will be devoted to the work of the Constitutional Conference. He asks for the participants' assessment of the Constitutional Conference, the way it is made up, and its decisions.

Belov believes that Yeltsin's initiative to convene the conference was a very constructive idea as it offered a way out of the constitutional impasse in which the process of drawing up a constitution found itself within the Russian Supreme Soviet's Constitutional Commission. The press says—and the entire conference shows—that the participants have been selected exceptionally successfully, in that they represent all sections of society.

Biryukov says: "Frankly it seems to me that in the past few years an artificial problem has been imposed on society, and on the people. Perhaps it does not even reflect the interests of the people and society itself. Such is the problem posed by the referendum on 25 April 1993. You know its result—it is having an impact on all of us. I disagree with my colleague Viktor Ivanovich in his wholesale approval of the Constitutinal Conference, and of the work on the constitution. It seems to me that there would be and is nothing terrible in the executive body, the executive structure taking part in drawing up and adopting the fundamental law of our state. But the point is that at the very outset, indeed, prior to the start of the work of the Constitutional Conference, this has taken on the shape of a struggle, in my view, with the Supreme Soviet, with Congress, and with the Soviets of People's Deputies. This has of course introduced its own negative assessment, both on the the part of the public—I am not claiming this without proof—the participants in the conference, and in the assessment of the Conference itself.

"Therefore, I would also not agree that the participants in the Constitutional Conference were well selected because from our republic—it is true that we have sent our representatives officially—but no one invited a large part of the population, of the collective and state farm peasants, to take part. That is why I would say that the subsequent participation in the work of the conference has also shown that the rating of the Constitutional Conference is not quite as high as Viktor Ivanovich says."

A St. Petersburg viewer asks: "Should the new constitution be better or worse than the old one? Will the new one really be better?"

Belov says the new constitution should be different in order to fit the conditions in which Russia lives. Biryukov says that the new constitution should be drawn up and adopted by all society—if individual draft constitutions are foisted on the people and society the constitution would of course be no good. Biryukov goes on to say that the constitution should contain the main fundamental positions expressing the people's interest. First, it should preserve the working people's social gains. It is absolutely impermissible for there to be an artificial transfer from the United States or France of some model of constitution, as is being attempted now.

Voldemarova says that many social gains reflected in the current constitution have been purely nominal and ephemeral in the past years. Biryukov denies this, admitting all the same that their implementation has not been 100 percent. Voldemarova believes that the constitution should be a single integral mechanism interlinked as regards all articles, taking into account the changed living conditions in Russian society. It should take all the best from experience in Russia, both prior to 1917 and in the past 75 years of Soviet rule.

Tula Oblast and Moscow viewers ask: "What system will the new constitution defend: a capitalist one or a socialist one?"

Voldemarova says that Russia should be a civilized, industrially developed state, with free commodity producers on a free market with social guarantees for the population.

A viewer asks: Why is it that in the draft constitution there is a deliberate tendency for executive power to prevail over legislative power? Belov admits that there is a tendency in the draft toward a strong presidential rule, and that it has insufficient counterbalances in the form of legislative power. This is a serious shortcoming in the presidential draft. However, this is being evened out during the Constitutional Conference. Being a representative of a region in the center, he sees how much his region is now suffering from the domination of centralization; the Constitution should correct this.

A Moscow viewer asks: "What is your attitude to the slogan: All power to the soviets?"

Biryukov believes that this slogan has not yet realized its full potential due to the fact that people have not been able to realize its content. Voldemarova points to the inconsistency in Biryukov's attitude, in that he was one of the initiators of the creation of presidential structures in Mordovia, something which is now being reversed. Biryukov says that there were many initiators, but this does not in any way contradict what he said. The introduction of strong presidential power in the republic 1.5 years ago yielded a worse result in many areas. One of the factors was that this strong executive power started dominating all other branches of power. So it was decided to return to the form of a Council of Ministers, which is recognized by republican society and which expresses the working people's results.

Skryabov reads out the following question: Today we already have the Federation Treaty. How does it fit into the new constitution and how is it being fulfilled? How are the interests of the components of the Federation being taken into account?

Voldemarova says that her group of entrepreneurs-commodity producers favors the Federation Treaty not being an integral part of the constitution. All achievements attained in the treaty should be introduced in certain articles of the constitution. The point of departure is that Russia is a single, indivisible, integral state. She opposes components of the Federation being endowed with rights of statehood as this tends to destroy the free market. She points out that the oblasts and krays where the far greater part of the population lives have found themselves curtailed in their rights.

A viewer from Tiraspol asks: "What guarantees are there in the new constitution that this Russian state will be a state and not an amorphous entity of capricious states?"

Belov believes that all regions should have equal economic, political, and legal conditions in their development. He disagrees strongly with republics within Russia possessing more political and economic rights than Krasnoyarsk Kray, which is larger than many states. Of late republics are finding it easier to get subsidies allocated, whereas Tver Oblast is not receiving any subsidies at all. The fact that the conference has recognized the need for equal rights for the components of the Federation is a great achievement. On the other hand, the Federation Treaty should not be touched now. National features and national traditions should be taken into account. Voldemarova makes the rejoinder: initially we create difficulties for ourselves, then we call for realities to be taken into account. She adds that it is not economic factors but politics to date that are pushing regions toward demanding sovereignty.

Skryabov repeats the question about how the Federation Treaty fits into the new Constitution for the benefit of Biryukov, who goes on to give the stance of the Mordovian Supreme Soviet on this: All laws passed by it are aimed at strengthening Russian statehood and a unified Russian state. Mordovia signed the Federation Treaty with great satisfaction. Belov supports Skryabov in believing that calling into the doubt the Federation Treaty is unforgivable.

A St. Petersburg viewer aks: If each republic has its own constitution and the Russian Constitution is to integrate and generalize them, what about individual krays and oblasts which do not have their own constitution?

Biryukov suggests that perhaps more economic independence should be introduced, but federalism, a single state, should not be destroyed. He admits that today the Federation Treaty is not being fulfilled and a lot of work remains to be done on the mechanism of the treaty's fulfillment. Belov concurs on this. Biryukov says that the mechanism is not functioning, not only because the components of the Federation are standing in the way—no small role is also being played here by the center, he adds.

In reply to a question about the future parliament, Belov says he agrees with the claim made by the heads of administration and the heads of regional representative power that they should automatically be delegated to assist in shaping state policy. Voldemarova disagrees, saying it would result in a disproportion between executive and legislative power. Biryukov supports Voldemarova on this, and says he would like to preserve the Russian Supreme Soviet.

Skryabov raises the question of the demarcation of powers between the president, executive power, legislative power, and judicial authorities, in particular with regard to the "supreme legal presence." Voldemarova says that the latter should not be set up as a supreme legal body as the decisions of the Constitutional Court are final on a whole range of issues.

A viewer says: Yeltsin is a good politician but all power should not be given to one person, as it is necessary to control it. Voldemarova says that as an entrepreneur she believes that the president should not be the head of executive power, as it would turn the chairman of the government in a somewhat ephemeral figure. Belov believes that the president should be head of state only. Biryukov concurs.

On the mechanism of adopting the constitution, Belov says that first and foremost it should be legitimate. Congress, even though theoretically it can adopt the constitution, in practice it will simply be unable to do so, Belov adds, speaking as a Russian deputy. Biryukov concurs on adoption having to be only legal. Voldemarova makes the point that the legitimacy concept is being used a lot today, but everyone gives it their own meaning.

Lipitskiy on Constitution, Civic Union

PM1806160793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 17 Jun 93 First Edition p 2

[Interview with Vasiliy Lipitskiy, chairman of Russia's "Civic Union" Executive Committee, by Aleksandr Meshkov under "Our Microphone in Kremlin" rubric; place and date not given: "Time To Go Over to Normal Electoral System"]

[Text] [Meshkov] Vasiliy Semenovich, together with other representatives of centrists you are participating in the work of the Constitutional Conference. How do you rate its results?

[Lipitskiy] It seems to me that this conference was conceived as a means of "legalizing" the progression toward a preset result. That is, toward approval for the president's draft of the constitution. Hence the overregimentation, the rigid standing orders, etc. According to the scheme of the conference's organizers, its participants were to have worked on specific amendments to the draft of the constitution without discussing the most general conceptual problems. But it was precisely their unresolved nature—and the plenary session demonstrated this—that resulted in two fundamentally different models of the state system being elaborated and proposed. The first is a model of a centralized unitary

state (campaigned for, in particular, by Vice Premier V. Shumeyko and Moscow Mayor Yu. Luzhkov). The second is a model of a federative state with plenipotentiary local self-management and democratic control over the activity of the authority (supported by the regions' representatives). It is impossible mechanically to combine these two different approaches. An accord is needed between the people who advanced them.

"Civic Union's" representatives foresaw such a development of events—which was why, right from the start of the conference's work, they championed the need for a general political debate. It would show which positions had to be brought closer together and would reveal the reserves of this rapprochement, if I may put it like this....

[Meshkov] What do you expect from this Constitutional Conference? Certain mass media propose that it should draw up some single document, which would then be signed by the components of the Federation and be initialed by the Congress of People's Deputies.

[Lipitskiy] I get the impression that the role of the Constitutional Conference is being reconsidered by its organizers as it proceeds. At first it was being said candidly that the new constitution could be adopted by a conference with that composition. But the position of representatives of many components of the Federation and of public organizations (even those which usually support the president) ruled out such a turn of events. The question arose: How can this forum be utilized, and what is to be done with the "product" of its work? People started saying that it made sense to continue the work of the conference after 16 June, turning it into a permanently functioning organ....

"Civic Union" has its own opinion on what to fill the further work of the Constitutional Conference with. We propose concentrating on drawing up a legislative act which will enshrine the new electoral system and the structure of the new organs of power. This document can be examined either as a separate constitutional law or in the form of amendments to the present constitution.

Elections to parliament will be held on the basis of such a legislative act. Parliament will become a constitutional organ and will receive a mandate, let us say, to complete the work on the draft of the new constitution within two years. Then to conduct its nationwide discussion and adopt it. The draft of this document has already been drawn up, and we intend to submit it to the Constitutional Conference and the Supreme Soviet for discussion.

Now about the model which you mentioned: the Constitutional Conference—the components of the Federation—the Congress. Well, this too has a right to be considered. But it is necessary to strictly follow the letter of the law; the Constitutional Conference must abide by its name and fulfill only consultative functions, without trying to appropriate the functions of the legislature. Any documents adopted by it are no more than a legislative initiative which must go through the procedure of being examined and approved in Supreme Soviet committees and commissions and at the Congress of People's Deputies.

Even in the event of the new constitution's being "forced through" (to which I object resolutely), we cannot dispense with its nationwide discussion and its adoption at the Congress or in a referendum, which will finally bring the constitutional process to an end.

[Meshkov] Does it not seem to you that the estate-corporative [soslovno-korporativnyy] principle of representation at the present Constitutional Conference could, after "approval," be extended to forming other organs of power? Certain politicians have proposed convening a constituent assembly in this way. At the same time they have kept quiet about the fact that such a principle runs counter to universal equal and direct suffrage....

[Lipitskiy] In my opinion, this principle is a development of the idea which was made the basis for forming the Union Congress of People's Deputies. At that time society had not yet gone through the process of political structuring, and such political components as mass parties and public movements expressing the interests of different social groups had not appeared. Consequently, elections under the majority system would not have reflected those interests, which is why it was necessary to imitate representation of different social strata.

That principle, however, was to have receded as society underwent civic maturation. Today it is no longer commensurate with the new realities. Now there are not only small political parties but also several sociopolitical blocs reflecting the wide range of interests of various social strata. Therefore we must progress from the estate-corporative system to a normal electoral system, to the traditional representation of social groups through universal, equal, and direct suffrage.

[Meshkov] You have mentioned the position of "Civic Union" several times. It is known, however, that the Democratic Party of Russia [DPR] ("Travkin's party") recently left it. The centrist association has itself gained new members and received a different name: "Coalition of Civil Forces." Does this mean that "Civic Union" has ceased to exist, or will it be preserved as the nucleus of the centrist bloc?

[Lipitskiy] It will soon be one year since "Civic Union" was set up. During this time many articles and analytical materials have appeared in the periodical press, whose authors tried to prove that "Civic Union" was a "myth" and a "soap bubble" which was on the point of bursting or had already burst. If our association was of no public interest, why was it necessary to waste so much energy on all those "exposes" and on passing "sentences"?

We are now seeing a new wave of debate over the future of "Civic Union." This is linked, in particular, to the decision of the DPR Board to recall its representatives

from "Civic Union's" leadership organs. I wish, however, to draw attention to a circumstance which went unnoticed by many analysts and representatives of the public. Following the DPR Board's decision, **not one member of this party has left "Civic Union"**. The Moscow and 12 other regional organizations of the DPR have remained within "Civic Union" and set up the Interregional Association of DPR Organizations.

I regard what happened as an internal problem of the DPR rather than a problem of "Civic Union." The DPR Board's decision was not the result of the creation of some new coalition but a consequence of the serious contradictions which exist in the party itself and in its leadership. These contradictions are accounted for by the complex path which the party has traveled. But they intensified particularly after the last DPR congress, when N. Travkin, who had integrated the party by means of his authority, retired from active political work. Then these contradictions broke through to the surface and assumed the form which we see now.

I do not believe that the recently created centrist "Coalition of Civil Forces" is some kind of replacement for "Civic Union." It was formed on the initiative of "Civic Union" and with the consent of the bloc's members. Moreover, this work is the realization of a long-standing idea of "Civic Union," which began preparing for the election campaign long before the new coalition was formed.

I believe that "Civic Union" will still be the the component which will appear before the voters with its uniting appellation.

[Meshkov] Will the centrist association's acquisition of new members affect its socioeconomic program? I recall that previously it was drawn up by economists geared to technocracy and productive capital. But new social strata have now joined the centrists' ranks. Does this not mean that the program will be adjusted with due regard for their interests?

[Lipitskiy] We are constantly debating what centrism is in our society.... Some people regard it as a method of compromises, of making interests agree.

I concur: Yes, centrism presupposes this method, but it also has an independent substance—political and socioeconomic. It depends on the general distribution of public forces and on the predominant trends in society. Such a trend today, for example, is the attempt at total, accelerated destatization. Under these conditions the real substance of centrism is determined by a "corridor" of ideas—from social liberal to social democratic. That is, those which assert the principles of a socially oriented market economy, a social state, etc. In the past these principles were made the basis of "Civic Union's" program aims, and they were the starting point for criticism of the Gaydar government's radical democratic policy. Those public forces and the politicians who intend to participate together with "Civic Union" in the "Coalition of Civil Forces" have also ended up close to these principles. Therefore I see no need for any reexamination or revision of "Civic Union's" program aims, which have been confirmed by life. We are working, as previously, with a number of economists (with Saburov and Petrakov, for example), we rely on their ideas in the economic sphere, and we are still geared to the ideas of federalism and developed local self-management (about which Yavlinskiy has also been writing a great deal recently). That is, we are acting in our traditional centrist course.

Constitutional Conference Groups End Sessions

LD1806190993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1743 GMT 18 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow June 18 TASS—The Constitutional Conference section of parties and movements was the last today to finish the discussion of the draft Russian Fundamental Law. Thus, the first stage of the conference has ended.

Representatives of parties and movements approved the amendment on giving the government the right to legislative initiative, offered to introduce in the draft constitution a federal investigation committee to unite all investigation bodies and agreed with the parliament right to dismiss the government.

Only the commission on improvement of the draft constitution, formed on a presidential instruction, is now working at the forum. By June 25 it will submit to the president a joint text of the Fundamental Law. Meetings of forum sections are scheduled for June 24-25 to consider results of the Conciliatory Commission's work, and a plenary meeting of the Constitutional Conference will be held on June 26.

Pro-Yeltsin Bias of Constitutional Conference Hit

PM2106103193 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Jun 93 p 1

[Boris Slavin report: "Like Master, Like Man"]

[Text] The Constitutional Conference has announced a recess until 26 June. Over this period a draft of the new Constitution is due to be finalized by working groups, while at the same time the Constitutional Conference has also adopted a statement proclaiming the basic principles that will imbue the future draft of the new Constitution. These principles basically coincide with what the president wanted to get out of the new Constitution by preparing it under his own auspices. At its plenary session, a majority of the Constitutional Conference voted for these principles, thereby for the most part confirming its attachment to the president.

What can we say about this? Like master, like man. Like president, like presidential conference. The president wants to become the sovereign master of Russia, and in

its statement the conference makes him head of state, elevated above all the branches of power. So we may soon have another master, only without whiskers and with a monarch's rights. The president wants speculators and stockbrokers to be able to calmly continue plundering the people's assets, and the conference is proclaiming private ownership to be a natural right, including land ownership. So the economic basis for a new partition of land and consequently the possibility of a new civil war will be ensured if this provision is included in a future draft Constitution.

Regarding the Federation components, the president has compromised with them by giving krays and oblasts equal status with republics vis-a-vis the federal authorities. In every other respect they remain unequal. Thus republics can have their own president and oblasts cannot. And on this point the conference agreed with the president, thus violating the principle of human rights and freedoms which he himself had proclaimed; the individual should not be belittled by anyone, but he will certainly be belittled if the Federation components are unequal.

The inequality of these components was most graphically recorded in one of the two paragraphs which the president has not read out. Incidentally, in the second omitted paragraph, the president clearly curries favor with the highest officials from the republics, krays, and oblasts by proposing that they should automatically be included in the upper chamber of parliament.

It would be possible to comment further on the results of the Constitutional Conference plenary session, but it is already clear that it is composed for the most part of people who support the president absolutely and who have been specially selected for this purpose.

One gets the impression that the president has got what he wanted. But whether the representative branch will want to approve this and the Russian people to accept it, only time will tell.

Constitutional Conference Deadlock Reported

PM1806134593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 Jun 93 First Edition p 2

[Report by B. Pugachev: "Conference Has Gone Behind the Scenes"]

[Text] The constitutional conference is deadlocked. Two basic questions have remained fundamentally unresolved—the equality of the components of the Federation and the demarcation of power between the legislative and executive branches of power and also between federal and regional organs of power.

Under pressure from representatives of the Russian krays and oblasts the conference's organizers are prepared to make a concession—to recognize the equality of the components of the Federation. But this admission breaks the entire state structure of the constitutional model. This is already a different Russia and for such a Russia a different power is needed, which the president's representatives understand. And it is for precisely this reason that they are taking time out to try "in a workmanlike manner" to "settle" the situation.

The second key question is connected with the separation of the powers' remits. Here too the president's team has encountered difficulties. A real and not a fictitious Federation needs not a strong one-man power but an effective collective power. The latter does not have to be directly linked to parliamentary power, although it is inseparable from it. This interconnection between the state's federal structure and the form of republican rule is being realized increasingly clearly, albeit not fully, by the components of the Federation. Hence the concealed resistance to a superpresidential republic which Yeltsin discerned at the conference.

The uncertainty on key questions of constitutional structure gave rise to a tactical maneuver during the conference—the transfer of its work "behind the scenes." The aim is, while making any tactical concessions, to achieve the adoption of the main goal—the president's model of power and the abolition of the present congress and Supreme Soviet.

But the paradoxical nature of the situation consists in the fact that time is now working against the president's version of the Constitution. It is not ruled out that at the end of June the president will find himself in a fundamentally different situation. To wit: Everything will seem to be "for" the proposed version "in general," but "in particular" the components of the Federation will not legalize any specific version of the Constitution as a finished document. The reason lies in a fact which everyone is carefully concealing: Except for the president all the other real political forces—the components of the federation and the "new elites" which are taking shape locally and in the center—are not really ready today to adopt a new Constitution.

Constitutional Forum Based on 'Fantasies'

PM1806111293 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 Jun 93 First Edition p 1

[Viktor Petrovskiy "Commentary": "Feast of Diverse Views..."]

[Text] Unrestrained peals of enraptured praise marked the emergence of the speedy constitutional chariot onto the homestretch in the Marble Hall. The president: "Constructive work!" Galina Starovoytova: "A feast of diverse views!"

And Gennadiy Burbulis, stepping out unnoticed from behind the scenes, promptly proposed that some kind of hymn or ode be composed in honor of the Constitutional Conference.

It was a contest of equals with the torrential Moscow rain—the verbal balm poured down just as torrentially in the Marble Hall.

Indeed, the president enjoyed much success, and there is reason to trumpet victory. Admittedly at first things were overshadowed by an unpleasant incident which had to be paid for, so to speak, by equating the two drafts. But the president cordially joked with Yuriy Slobodkin and apparently made friends with him. You want two drafts? Fine! But everything must be finished by June 16—according to schedule.

The schedule was the cunning part. Two drafts means two pieces of work, plus 1,000 amendments. But in the same time span. An overrun was inevitable.

But the conference participants, emboldened and delighted by the president's unaccustomed toleration, did not watch the clock, but worked with the utmost zeal, rejoiced at every successful interpolation of parliament's text into the president's, and when they came to the most important sections of all—on the relationship between the three powers, the procedure for forming the parliamentary body, and the basic principles of the federal system—it transpired that time was up and they had to break into a gallop to get there on time and not disappoint the magnanimous director of the planned show. Has such a thing ever been heard of—dealing with the section on the federal system in four hours on the last day?

True, those who ran out of time and want to carry on working have been given additional days. But this is of no significance. After the successful crowd scene in act one, act two follows, and different actors will play. The president showed some of his cards when, with somewhat overplayed concern, he spoke of the differences of opinion that arose between the working groups on particular questions of the draft Constitution and declared his intention to set up an arbitration commission to bring in a final verdict on the contentious points!

Who will be on the commission? The answer is even more striking: members of the Constitutional Court (those who have already demonstrated their loyalty, naturally), then members of the Supreme Court and the Superior Arbitration Court (on the same basis). These key figures, who possess a veneer of legitimacy, are supposed to lend their own legitimacy to the draft which they themselves have revised.

This is a very risky plan that could lead to unpredictable political consequences. That is as clear as day. And is that not why the president, at almost the same time, had a meeting with the military generals headed by Pavel Grachev, where he spoke about support for his reform? After all, the Army too could act as arbiter if called upon to do so.

Does not this combination of two "arbitration commissions," under the banner of the Declaration on the new Constitution, form the crux of the president's fifth option?

The president tries to make it look easy. But he did warn of his firm intentions beforehand. Remember what he said 28 May at a session of the Council of Heads of Administrations: "I am convinced that a delay in adopting the Fundamental Law is fraught with dangerous consequences... The schedule for the Constitutional Conference will be strictly defined by a directive of the president." The conference "must not turn into something resembling the Congress or a political debating society."

No feast of diverse views: The schedule will be strictly defined! Defined by the very structure of the conference, in which key strategic positions were held personally by committed top officials, including the prime minister. Defined by the deliberately tight time limit. Defined by the unexpected surfacing of a constitutional emergency committee with powers of arbitration and the right to pronounce a final verdict.

The constitutional chariot hurtles onward. Where are you going, answer us that! But answer came there none.

But it appears that the verdict has already been pronounced, by a couple of dumb Russian peasants of Gogolesque stamp, who, looking not so much at the passenger as at the carriage itself, reason thus: "Just look at that wheel! What do you think, will that wheel get as far as Moscow, or not?" "Yes, it'll get to Moscow." "But what about Kazan, I don't think it'll get that far, do you?" "It'll never make it to Kazan."

As long as it does not fall apart when it leaves Moscow's political fantasies behind and hits the ruts and potholes of real Russian economics and politics...

Political Issues

Ministry Rejects PRAVDA Claim of Attack on Parliament

PM1806134593 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Jun 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Denial by Russian Ministry of Security Public Relations Center"]

[Text] In connection with the editorial note "Who Will be Felled by the 'Lightning Strike'" published in PRAVDA (No. 114 dated 17 June 1993) about an operation that is allegedly being planned with a view to seizing the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet building and physically eliminating people's deputies using special subunits from the Ministry of Security, the Russian Ministry of Security Public Relations Center makes the following statement:

"The proposition that our subunits are being used to perform anticonstitutional actions of any sort is blatantly provocative and designed to discredit the state security organs, which act strictly on the basis of Russian Federation laws in order to protect Russian citizens and the country from subversive actions by foreign special services and criminal and political terrorism, and also for the purposes of guarding Russia's state borders."

Having received this announcement we were able to put our minds at rest, thank God. Now everything will be fine.

Mashits Appointed Council of Ministers Representative

LD1906133493 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1230 GMT 19 Jun 93

[Text] Viktor Chernomyrdin has signed an instruction according to which Vladimir Mashits, chairman of Russia's State Committee for Economic Cooperation with the Commonwealth states, is appointed official representative of the Russian Council of Ministers during the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet's consideration of the parliamentary decision on state credits to the governments of states that are former republics of the USSR.

Shokhin Denies Facing Criminal Charges

PM1806151593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Jun 93 First Edition p 1

[POSTFACTUM report: "Aleksandr Shokhin Rejects Report that Criminal Proceedings Have Been Instituted Against Him"]

[Text] At a press conference at the government press center Russian Vice Premier Aleksandr Shokhin denied the report in ARGUMENTY I FAKTY that Aleksandr Rutskoy during a speech at the Moscow City Soviet has announced the institution of criminal proceedings against him.

The verbatim account of A. Rutskoy's speech was cited as evidence. "I do not know whether I should sue ARGUMENTY I FAKTY or whether it will apologize to me publicly," the vice premier said.

Shakhray Proposes 'Party of Russian Unity and Accord'

LD1806204993 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 18 Jun 93

[Report by correspondent D. Pugacheva, including recorded remarks from interview with Deputy Prime Minister Sergey Shakhray, Pugacheva; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Pugacheva] We will probably get yet another party next month: the Party of Russian Unity and Accord or, in short, the Provincial Party [Rossiyskogo Yedinstva I Soglasiya-Provintsialnaya Partiya]. The author of this idea, Deputy Prime Minister Sergey Shakhray, explained that the main aim of the new organization was to bring together regional political and economic forces.

[Shakhray] If we really want to build a federal state—a united, strong federal state—we have to learn what concord is, and we must not build the Federation with laws and decrees alone, but we must create a political pivot, if you like, or a political foundation for such a federal state.

[Pugacheva] The Provincial Party is intended to be based on three pillars: a social orientated market economy, federalism, and broad local self-government. This is what will create the basis for Russia's integrity.

[Shakhray] If this idea takes shape and receives support in the regions of the Russian Federation, the subjects of the Russian Federation will obtain a political institution to express and defend their interests in the future parliament and structures of state power.

Rutskoy Losing 'Socially Based Support'

MK1906093093 Moscow MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS in Russian 19 Jun 93 p 2

[Mikhail Gurevich report under the "Around the Clock Nonstop" rubric: "Rutskoy Continues Downward Flight"]

[Text] Aleksandr Rutskoy, who has openly launched a "presidential campaign," continues to lose his socially based support. As was repeatedly observed, the notorious Civic Union has not grown into a strong political structure after all, and is now in a rather sorry state. Now it is the turn of the Aleksandr Vladimirovich "trademark" [firmennaya] party—the People's Party "Free Russia."

The recent third conference of the People's Party "Free Russia" organization of Moscow's South Okrug noted that some members of the party leadership headed by Rutskoy and Lipitskiy "ignore public opinion and disregard sentiments of ordinary members of the party because they are becoming increasingly involved in an open confrontation with the president and democratic forces that support him," demonstrating thereby their alliance with zealous communists and chauvinists. Among some other measures to be taken, the conference thought it was necessary to give political support to the policy of reforms of the president, who secured a vote of confidence in the referendum, and to hold a congress of the People's Party "Free Russia" before the start of the election campaign.

Lysenko Cited on TV Oversight Council Plan

PM1806112993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Jun 93 First Edition p 7

[Interview with Anatoliy Lysenko, general director of the All-Russian State Television and Radio Company, by Valeriy Turovskiy; place and date not given: "Flight from Censorship"]

[Text] IZVESTIYA has already reported that parliamentary hearings have been held at the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet committee for the mass media on the draft statute on the Federal Oversight Council to ensure freedom of speech in state television. This draft has given rise to heated disputes which come down to the fact that a sly addition to the Federal Oversight Council "for ensuring freedom of speech" could in practice result in tough censorship and a return to the Agitation and Propaganda Section and the Main Administration for the Protection of Military and State Secrets in the Press. Your IZVESTIYA observer asked Anatoliy Lysenko, general director of the All-Russian State Television and Radio Company, to comment on the possible consequences of the creation and functioning of the Federal Oversight Council for the electronic mass media.

[Turovskiy] Anatoliy Grigoryevich, in many civilized countries such oversight councils have long been operating successfully and they present no threat to freedom of creation and freedom of speech. Why are our television and radio colleagues so alarmed?

[Lysenko] It is easy to understand why television and radio journalists are so alarmed. It is because, according to this draft, the Federal Oversight Council undertakes to determine the structure of broadcasting, to elaborate recommendations for the improvement of our activity, to keep track of broadcasts and record broadcasts and subsequently, if it does not like something, to make any decisions. After all this council has the power to appoint and replace the leaders of television companies.

So if someone from the oversight council has seen what from his viewpoint is a bad program and says: "No more of it!" What is that if not censorship?

[Turovskiy] Censorship, of course.

[Lysenko] If the deputies who are fighting so hard for the creation of the Federal Oversight Council were concerned for quality and the artistic standard of broadcasting, but no, they mention quality and standards only at the last moment: "Oh yes, by the way, standards." They are perturbed only by equal rights for broadcasting on the air and only by politics. The result is that the future oversight council will collect representatives of various factions and they will begin to fight for broadcasting time. And however strange it may seem it is precisely those deputies who appear on the screen most frequently who are most active in the struggle for airtime. Astafyev, for instance, has appeared 28 times in the past three months. Is his Constitutional Democratic Party already the ruling party?

[Turovskiy] Psychologically that can be explained: The more you eat the more you want. But it seems to me (I judge by the editorial office's mail) that people have grown tired of the endless appearance of Astafyev, Pavlov, Baburin, Konstantin, and Chelnokov. The same faces, the same words.

[Lysenko] Yes, the opposition is never off the screen, that is a fact. I would in general urge all journalists to boycott opposition events, to disregard them and not to cover them. If Anpilov wants to chain himself to railings that is his business. Why should all that be recorded on film? You note that the only question which gives rise to universal unanimity among deputies of all possible shades and colors is the question of the direct transmission of congress and parliament sessions. A touching unity.

[Turovskiy] But later, it is true, they are offended that they were not shown as being that handsome.

[Lysenko] That is a case of physician, heal thyself. If you want to be handsome then be handsome. Do not yawn, do not pick your nose, do not read a newspaper, but listen to what people are saying to you. That is—work. But to return to the council... As a whole I am in favor of such a council, but in the legislative field. While there is no law on television and radio broadcasting, while there is no law on the parties, the creation of a Federal Oversight Council is premature and harmful. It is only under these laws, on the basis of these laws, that we should set about forming such a council. And it should be joined by the most authoritative representatives of literature, art, and science, representatives of the ministries which are directly related to television—the ministries of culture, education, and communications.

[Turovskiy] Anatoliy Grigoryevich, you are speaking of the ideal but we know very well that in our country whatever you do everything turns out for the worst. I fear that the Federal Oversight Council will nonetheless become an instrument of political struggle and political censorship. And then do you not think that the journalists who have tasted freedom will not work in companies which are censored. They will begin to withdraw to independent, commercial, private companies.

[Lysenko] It is not a withdrawal but a flight which will begin.

People Polled on Most Trustworthy Institutions

MK1806103093 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 18 Jun 93 p 2

[Oleg Salelyev report under the "Social Barometer" rubric: "Who in Russia Is Trusted More?"]

[Text] A representative poll of 1,600 people all over the Russian Federation conducted by the All-Russia Center

for the Study of Public Opinion obtained the following answers (in percentages) to questions patterned like this: "Is/Are .... trustworthy?"

	Quite	Not Quite	Untrustworthy	Hard to Say
Radio, press, television	27	42	14	17
Russian Armed Forces	38	22	9	32
Russian Government	17	38	25	20
Religious organizations	33	17	11	39
CIS Armed Forces	23	28	12	37
Executive authority where you live	13	35	32	20
State security organs	16	27	20	37
Russian Supreme Soviet	6	31	42	21
Labor unions	11	26	35	28
Congress of People's Deputies of Russian Federation	6	27	49	18

Economic Issues

Chernomyrdin Signs Resolution on Currency, Export Control

LD1806125693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1243 GMT 18 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Podiyapolskiy]

[Text] Moscow June 18 TASS—The Government of the Russian Federation has determined tasks of the Russian Federal Service for Currency and Export Control and outlined measures to ensure the necessary conditions for it to work. The resolution, signed by Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, says that the Federal Service "coordinates the activities of agents of currency and export control over conducting a single state policy in the field of currency, export-import and other foreign economic operations." The service is assigned a mission of control over the observance by residents and non-residents of standard acts regulating currency operations, and the fulfillment by residents of commitments in foreign currency to the state, including obligations on the sale of foreign currency on the domestic market.

The Federal Service will control the validity of payments in foreign trade operations and transfers of capital abroad, and organise checking of the objectivity of accounts on currency operations, as well as operations of non-residents in Russian currency.

This newly set up body will consist of a central apparatus and regional bodies on the territory of the subjects of the Russian Federation. The resolution stipulates that the Federal Service may have representatives in banks which are objects of currency control and are subordinated to the Central Bank of Russia, as well in institutions of the Russian Federation abroad. The maximum number of personnel of the central apparatus of the Federal Service is 450.

Zaveryukha Sees Trend Toward Stability in Agriculture

OW1906123193 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel and Orbita Networks in Russian 1845 GMT 14 Jun 93

[Interview with Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandr Kharlampiyevich Zaveryukha by L. Khatayevich; place and date not given; from the "Utro" program—recorded]

[Text] Spring sowing, an important stage of agricultural work, has been completed on the fields of Russia. This is how Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandr Kharlampiyevich Zaveryukha assessed the results of this work.

[Khatayevich] Aleksandr Kharlampiyevich, the present time is transitional for agriculture, if I can put it that way. Spring sowing, a big agricultural campaign, is being concluded. Summer has arrived, and at this time, to some extent, a general assessment can be made of how our agriculture is beginning in this difficult year of 1993.

[Zaveryukha] There was a lot of discussion and talk about how the sowing campaign would be carried out in the difficult economic conditions of agricultural production reform. There were a lot of problems. The main problem was that 2.5 million hectares of fallow land were not cultivated and more than 2 million hectares of winter crops were not sown throughout Russia.

Because of an increased load on machinery, the sowing campaign was carried out in an unprecedentedly organized way and in a short period of time. Nobody hustled or hurried anybody along. The economic conditions increased the activity of our peasants; they understood that if they do not sow now, they will not survive economically.

At the same time, we also adopted measures, operatively and possibly in an old-fashioned way, to ensure a steady

supply of fuels and lubricants and to ensure that the agricultural sector would obtain fertilizers expeditiously during this period. There was also government assistance in the form of credits. Nearly 1 trillion rubles in credits have been allocated, and this permitted us to solve some very difficult problems to some extent.

[Khatayevich] Can we say that despite everything, market relationships are taking shape in rural areas?

[Zaveryukha] The institution of farming is now developing, and there are already more than 250,000 farms in Russia. If we look at this in terms of area, this amounts to more than 5 million hectares, which is a considerable area. This separation of the farmers from kolkhozes and sovkhozes has given impetus to work on these farms of ours that are engaged in public production today. They had been faced with the threat of disintegration and harsh economic conditions. However, there are still many examples today where former kolkhozes or sovkhozes, who now call themselves joint-stock companies, have not improved their performance and show no trend toward improvement.

So generally, the government's policy, and this is normal, is to implement the law on bankruptcy today. This law exists, and I think it is a powerful factor in compelling them to work more efficiently.

[Khatayevich] I suppose we can already talk about some partial harvest forecasts, because in June harvesting of barley begins in southern Russia?

[Zaveryukha] Yes, there are already some harvest forecasts. They have been prepared as usual by Ministry of Agriculture specialists. If developments continue this way, we think that last year's levels will be matched in crop cultivation and in the gross harvest of all agricultural crops.

[Khatayevich] What does this mean?

[Zaveryukha] It means that last year we gathered 118 million tonnes of grain and that these are the parameters we are basically aiming for. So now we can say that the beginnings of stability, or a trend to stability, can be seen in agriculture today.

Yeltsin Approves Free Coal Prices

LD2106083493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0736 GMT 21 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, June 21 (TASS)—Russian President Boris Yeltsin signed a decree on Monday [21 June] releasing coal prices in Russia from state control from July 1, according to the presidential press service.

Coal enterprises were also freed from obligatory sales to the state of hard currency export revenues earned by marketing coal mined in excess of state orders.

Coal will be also exempt from export duties and from January 1, 1994 there will be no quotas and licences for export of coking coal.

The government was instructed to change the rules of subsidising the coal industry by establishing fixed rates of subsidies.

The decree is called to stabilise the situation in the coal industry, the press service said.

The decree appeared after a government commission headed by First Deputy Prime Minister Oleg Soskovets decided on Saturday to recommend to the president and the prime minister to accelerate the release of coal prices initially planned for next year.

Radical marketeers in the government and deputy prime ministers Boris Fyodorov, Anatoliy Chubays and Aleksandr Shokhin supported the decision and said the current political situation, as well as the time of the year are most favourable for the move.

It was initially envisaged to raise the coal prices by 2.5 times from July 1 and switch to free prices by March, 1994.

However, the commission arrived to a conclusion that administrative price hikes will not solve the financial problems of the industry. Besides, free prices are expected to increase by 20-30 per cent instead of 2.5 times as most of coal consumers cannot simply afford such an increase.

Minister Says Fuel, Power Prices Will Multiply

PM1806120793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 15 Jun 93 First Edition p 4

[Unattributed, untitled report under the rubric "Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow"]

[Text] Prices for oil products in Russia could increase more than threefold by the end of 1993, Fuel and Energy Minister Yuriy Shafranik has stated.

Yu. Shafranik also suggested that by the end of this year power workers would have to increase electricity tariffs at least fourfold. Such measures, in the opinion of Ministry of Fuel and Energy specialists, could compensate for the fuel and energy complex' negative balance of payments. The debts of Russia's fuel and energy complex enterprises reached 4.7 billion rubles [R] in June 1993, and continue to increase. In the last few months alone the total of unpaid accounts among fuel and energy complex enterprises increased by R1 billion.

Energy Minister Proposes Coal Price Hike

MK1906100093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 19 Jun 93 p 1

[Anna Ostapchuk report under the "Government" rubric: "Shafranik Proposed That Coal Prices Be Raised, 2.5-Fold for Starters"]

[Text] On 18 June, the Russian Federation Council of Ministers Presidium was going to consider only two initially planned agenda items: first, a package of urgent measures to ensure energy conservation and the efficient utilization of energy resources, and second, food supplies for the second half of the year. Fuel and Energy Minister Yuriy Shafranik, however, suddenly touched upon the situation in Russia's coal industry. The minister told his colleagues that on Saturday and Sunday around 200 delegates of striking coal mines were coming to Moscow in order to picket the Russian Federation Government. The fuel and energy ministry's proposals for liberalizing coal prices and speeding up the transformation of coal enterprises into joint-stock companies have been mulled over by the government for a couple of months. First Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeyko, who chaired the meeting, remarked to that effect that, obviously, no one was willing to take responsibility, but any further procrastination was impossible—it was time to take action. In Yuriy Shafranik's view, this problem can only be resolved by raising coal prices—2.5-fold starting 1 July with further monthly increases between 10 percent and 17 percent.

It was a generally held view that energy-saving measures, too, depended on whether this problem was resolved. The presidium approved the fundamentals of the energy conservation program up to the year 2010.

Two years ago, Russia was second in a group of the five largest energy wasters in the world (among Bahrain, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, and Kazakhstan). Since then energy consumption has grown by another 30 percent. The energy saving program presented by Yuriy Shafranik calls for a whole slew of measures to fight those who fritter away energy, ranging from administrative to economic sanctions. Most importantly, however, as many speakers at the presidium meeting emphasized, it is essential to redress the "disparity of prices." At present, the energy component accounts for between 6 and 9 percent of industrial goods prices, but as a result of the proposed measures it will reach between 20 percent and 30 percent. The prices of Russian energy resources amount to only one one-hundredth of world prices. This ratio will also be improved. The drafters hope that all these measures will adequately impress energy consumers. Businesses will be encouraged to save energy—for instance, it is proposed that they be given the right to dispose of, and even to export without hindrance, the resources they will have saved.

Because the Russian budget is lacking the requisite money to implement this program anyway (it cannot provide even the 10 billion necessary at the initial stage, to say nothing of 200 billion for further stages), the main emphasis will now evidently be on price liberalization. Crucially, the conclusion was drawn that this should be done gradually by linking the energy-saving program to the stages of price liberalization. A finalized draft program and a presidential draft edict (to be on the safe side) are to be submitted to the presidium by 1 July.

Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandr Zaveryukha presented to the Presidium a draft decree on food supplies in Russia for the second half of 1993.

One of the key points made by the deputy prime minister in his speech—he was speaking also on behalf of the Food Commission—was that it was essential to cut down all food imports. In particular, he proposed that government-financed import transactions of potatoes, vegetables, hard liquor, wine, and soft drinks be halted starting 1 July 1993.

Edict Expands Federation Privatization Rights

PM2106093993 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 19 Jun 93 p 2

[Russian Federation President's Edict No. 927 "On Some Measures To Expand the Rights of Russian Federation Components in the Privatization Sphere"]

[Text] At the proposal of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government regarding support for the organs of state power and management of Belgorod, Nizhniy Novgorod, and Sverdlovsk oblasts and the city of St. Petersburg in actively implementing economic transformations on these territories and with a view to determining effective methods of the participation of the components of the Federation in the management of state property, I decree:

1. That it be established that the privatization of enterprises and establishments under federal ownership on the territories of Belgorod, Nizhniy Novgorod, and Sverdlovsk oblasts and the city of St. Petersburg and those under the state ownership of Belgorod, Nizhniy Novgorod, and Sverdlovsk oblasts and the city of St. Petersburg and subject to the restrictions established by sections 2.2 and 2.3 of the state program for the privatization of state and municipal enterprises in the Russian Federation for 1992 is being carried out in 1993. The approval of plans for the privatization of enterprises and establishments indicated in this point is being implemented by the committees for the management of state property of Belgorod, Nizhniy Novgorod, and Sverdlovsk oblasts and the city of St. Petersburg.

2. That the decisions on the allotment of blocks of shares in state ownership when privatizing the enterprises and establishments indicated in point 1 are made upon representation by the committees for the management of

state property of Belgorod, Nizhniy Novgorod, and Sverdlovsk oblasts and the city of St. Petersburg to respectively the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government and the Russian Federation State Committee for the Administration of State Property.

[Signed] Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin

[Dated] Moscow, Kremlin, 16 June 1993

Application of Customs Duty Exemptions Questioned

PM1806114593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 16 Jun 93 First Edition p 4

[Valeriy Zenkov report under the "Taxes" rubric: "Maneuvers Around 'AvtoVAZ'"]

[Text] The Russian government's practice last year of exempting certain exporters and importers from paying customs duties, as a result of which the country lost around $3 billion, which is greater than the entire state budget deficit last year, is still continuing today. In April, Russian Council of Ministers Chairman V. Chernomyrdin signed a directive granting the "AvtoVAZ" joint stock company free transportation of goods over the border for four years.

It is hard to dispute the need for such a measure. When you are at the top, it is easier to see things, so to speak. But what is curious is that paper, cardboard, bookbinding equipment, machines for the production of articles made of papier-mache, paper, and cardboard, and cotton fabric are also being made exempt from customs duties along with materials, raw materials, and various components which are undoubtedly necessary for the production of automobiles.

Something else is also curious. The premier's directive completely contravenes the Russian presidential edict dated 27 March of this year, under which customs privileges are only given to participants in foreign economic activity who are putting into practice specific investment programs. Indeed, they are not exempted from the payment of customs duty but are just granted a deferment of payment. But "AvtoVAZ" is exempt from all commitments! And this means that hundreds of thousands of dollars and rubles will flow past the budget. So what is happening is that the edict is watching over state interests, while the directive is watching over corporate interests. The president is worrying about strengthening the budget, while the premier is squandering it.

And another interesting detail has come to light. It turns out that, despite the directive's reference to foreign economic privileges, it was prepared inside the Council of Ministers Industry Department. None of the specialists in the foreign economic relations department has read or initialed it. It could easily be assumed that personal interests had something to do with the privilege for "AvtoVAZ" being pushed through.

This fact makes you think that the government is not above lobbying in the interests of the monopolized enterprises.

Military Issues

Shaposhnikov Security Council Appointment Viewed

PM2106090593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 Jun 93 First Edition p 1

["Look Who's Arrived" article by Aleksey Vorobyev: "He Was Going To Bomb the Kremlin"]

[Text] So another personnel matter has been resolved in the Kremlin. The president has signed an edict appointing Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov secretary of the Russian Federation Security Council.

Only recently his candidacy would more likely have dumbfounded society, but now the majority of politicians reacted calmly and meekly to the edict. Because it fits in neatly with the very specific policy currently being conducted by the president's team. Personnel policy chiefly, since the Kremlin appears to be unfamiliar at the moment with any other, the kind that is called policy with a capital P.

Marshal Shaposhnikov's stock rose sharply in those fateful August days of 1991, when, according to him, he threatened to bomb the Kremlin if the putschists dared to storm the White House. Many people wondered afterward whether he would actually have raised a threatening hand, whether he would actually have given the order to destroy the Russian holy of holies, which only the Tatar nomads, Napoleon's soldiers fleeing Moscow, and the Bolsheviks in 1917 had presumed to attack?

Although even then there were those who hinted that from the viewpoint of the ongoing situation the bombing threat was a complete bluff, since the leaders of the putsch were certainly not in the Kremlin offices at the time. What the marshal of aviation's statement did was declare the Kremlin—symbol of the Russian state—a hostage, which was to be destroyed first.

Perhaps it was this unceremonious attitude toward the nation's holy of holies, coupled with the categorical support for the leader of the then Russian democracy, that sealed Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov's fate. Those in charge of personnel matters in the president's team could see from this gesture alone that this man would fit their political line, with its rich admixture of myths and hoaxes, perfectly.

There followed 18 months of vain attempts by Ye. Shaposhnikov somehow to integrate the CIS countries' efforts to create joint defense structures. The commander in chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces himself became a kind of mythical figure, the personification of a commander without an army.

It is hard to say how much the marshal himself was to blame for this, but relations among the states of the former Union are extremely difficult. But what is worrying is the latest fact: As soon as he received his new appointment Ye. Shaposhnikov said that his former commander in chief's post was not needed. Why did he not think of this before? Was it that he did not have the opportunity to raise the question so bluntly? Or, may Yevgeniy Ivanovich forgive me for being so bold, did he simply begrudge relinquishing his post?

One thing is clear—he did not score any outstanding achievements in his previous post. In fact the president, when he announced his choice of Security Council secretary, hinted that personal dedication had been the chief factor. But such a primitive approach to such a significant appointment is bound to arouse great concern.

First and foremost, we still do not have a blueprint for national security, which in any event is not confined purely to military problems. It should be determined much more these days by economic, geopolitical, and interethnic factors. Yuriy Skokov was well aware of this. He paid a vast amount of attention to collaboration with the members of the Federation and largely succeeded in neutralizing the centrifugal processes.

Will Ye. Shaposhnikov be able to continue this complicated and very delicate work? Serious doubts remain on this score. If only because of the fundamentally different mentality of the marshal of aviation, who draws on quite different social principles and social-political forces.

Aleksandr Herzen once described the tragedy of the unsuccessful reformer, Emperor Nicholas I, as follows: "The whole trouble was that he did not require intelligent people, all he wanted was people who were devoted to him." Apparently, no one learns anything from history in Russia.

Yeltsin May Have 'Secret Plans' To Abolish Security Council

MK1806121493 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No 26, 18 Jun 93 (signed to press 17 Jun 93) p 3

[Pavel Felgengauer report under the "Personnel" rubric: "Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov: Marshal-Terminator? CIS Chief Command No Longer Exists"]

[Text] In August 1991 Marshal Shaposhnikov became USSR defense minister, and in a few months' time, when there was neither the USSR nor the ministry to defend it, he was appointed commander-in-chief of the CIS. On 10 June 1993 President Yeltsin appointed Marshal Shaposhnikov secretary of the Security Council, and the post of commander-in-chief was immediately abolished as being of no use. Instead of the High Command, the building at 41 Leningradskiy Prospekt will house the Joint Staff under General Samsonov, who formerly headed the High Command's staff.

It was clear as a result that the post of commander-in-chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces was created during the preparation of the Belovezhskaya Forest accord specifically "for Shaposhnikov," apparently to neutralize the Armed Forces in the sensitive period of the dismantlement of the USSR. Now that the CIS Joint Armed Forces lost the only military commander wielding at least some political clout, the future of the Joint Armed Forces looks particularly unenviable. The more so because General Samsonov has proved fairly lackluster as chief of the strategic staff during the 18 months of his tenure.

Colonel General Viktor Samsonov was commander of the Leningrad Military District in 1991. On 7 December 1991 he was suddenly promoted to chief of the Soviet Army General Staff, replacing General Lobov. Lobov claimed some time ago that his dismissal was a result of Marshal Shaposhnikov's secret intrigues. It is noteworthy that General Lobov was fired with one day to go before the famous Belovezhskaya Forest agreement.

Until that time General Viktor Samsonov had never served at the General Staff and had the reputation of a good commander in the army. Consequently, he found it hard to put together an effective Joint Staff of the CIS Joint Armed Forces from scratch. Moreover, most CIS countries were not particularly interested in setting up a serious joint staff. As a matter of fact, the Russian Defense Ministry was especially wary of the idea of the CIS Joint Armed Forces.

With the High Command abolished, the issue of control over the nuclear weapons of the former USSR was finally resolved. Under the Alma-Ata agreement of 26 December 1991, the nuclear weapons were to be controlled jointly by Marshal Shaposhnikov and President Yeltsin. Kravchuk, Nazarbayev, and Shushkevich got "voice, but no vote" (according to specialists, even if all the three "semi-nuclear" presidents vetoed a nuclear strike at one time, the missiles would have been launched all the same, only a few minutes later).

Now the "nuclear case" again has only one owner. Actually, after the Russian Army was created in 1992 and the Soviet Army's General Staff was converted into the Russian General Staff, the traditional Soviet vertical line of control over strategic and tactical nuclear weapons—President (CPSU General Secretary), defense minister, chief of the General Staff—was de facto reestablished. The CIS commander-in-chief's involvement in the decisionmaking regarding the possible use of nuclear weapons would have been entirely logical from the formal point of view, but some organizational uncertainties still remained. The actual chances of a nuclear war breaking out are obviously slim, but increasing certainty in arms control matters can only be welcomed.

President Yeltsin cited the transition of the nuclear forces to Russia's jurisdiction as one of the reasons for Marshal Shaposhnikov's transfer to the post of Security Council secretary. There are other theories, though.

Many high-ranking Western diplomats in Moscow say privately that in their reports to their respective governments they interpret Shaposhnikov's new appointment as a sign that President Yeltsin has secret plans to abolish the Security Council in the near future or at least to strip it of any authority. Starting from August 1991, all the posts to which Shaposhnikov was placed by Yeltsin soon began losing all their clout and were later abolished. This appears particularly plausible because just as the new Security Council secretary was appointed, Information Minister Mikhail Fedotov, speaking at the Constitutional Conference, proposed that the Security Council be stripped of its constitutional status, converted from a coordinating body into a deliberative one, and, what is most important, be removed from the list of the "power" ministries. However, analysts have repeatedly been proved seriously wrong in positing at least some systematic reasons for Yeltsin's personnel decisions.

Officers Caught Stealing Silver From Submarines

PM1806152593 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 17 Jun 93

[By V. Loyter and F. Frolov, from Arkhangelsk; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Loyter] Inside the titanium hulls of nuclear submarines, which were hidden from our eyes for many years, there were not only military and state secrets but also common crimes which never became public knowledge. But times have changed. Nowadays military crimes are being investigated by both military counterintelligence and Arkhangelsk Internal Affairs Administration staff combating organized crime. They have exposed and neutralized a group of high-ranking officers in the Northern Fleet. The latter had engaged in the systematic misappropriation and sale of storage batteries containing highest "9999" grade silver. The haul was a considerable one—320 kg—worth more than 350 million rubles. It was to be shipped eastward via Arkhangelsk to be made into jewelry. The silver plate might have been fashioned into jewelry, but would the warships have been able to mount alert duty if this deal had taken place?

Air Force Carries Out 'Large-Scale' Exercise

LD2006221093 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0735 GMT 20 Jun 93

[From the "Military Review" program]

[Text] [Announcer] The Russian Air Force has carried out large-scale tactical flying exercises. They were conducted over practically the whole territory of Russia, from Voronezh to Vladivostok and from the north Caucasus to Franz Jozef Land. Four aviation formations, including three air armies and a mixed aviation corps, participated in the exercises.

Participating in it were SU-24 tactical bombers, SU-27 fighters, TU-95MS and TU-160 strategic bombers, giant AN-124 and IL-76 military transport aviation planes, as well as IL-78 tanker aircraft. Practically all of the command posts of the aviation formations and units, three air control posts, and a radar remote surveillance plane K-50 were put into operation to fulfill the set tasks successfully.

[Begin Petr Deynekin recording, commander in chief of Russian Air Force] The exercises had the task and aim to find out how the build-up of the Russian Federation's Air Force was being carried out. With the reductions that we have to carry out in the Armed Forces and the Air Force it is impossible to have the same level of strength all round, and one of the tasks that were being practiced in these exercises was the maneuvering of large Air Forces from one theater to another to increase the efforts of the Air Force in the fight for air supremacy. [end recording]

[Announcer] The unique nature of these exercises consisted in the transfer of the operational Air Force of the western regions of Russia to the Maritime Kray region, the SU-24 tactical bombers making a long-haul flight, and carrying out several refuelings in the air. For your information, refueling in flight can be carried out either in first or second regime, the difference being in the rate of fuel transfer from a tanker to a tactical plane.

[Begin Major Yevgeniy Shipovskiy recording] The first fuel transfer was to take place at dawn, but actually it took place at night, when twilight started. Personally, in my pair the tanker did not transfer fuel in the second regime at all, we transferred fuel in the first regime, and we remained practically 35 minutes in refueling formation. To remain 35 minutes under the wing of an IL-78 at a distance of 20 meters is very difficult, it is done, naturally, under manual operation, and causes great stress for the pilot. [end recording]

[Announcer] Just imagine how precise the calculation must be and how extra precise the movements of the pilot that remains 35 minutes under the wing of the multi-tonne IL-78 tanker at a distance of only 20 meters. One wrong, one extra movement and disaster becomes inevitable. Not for nothing they are aces, to be able to refuel not only during the day but at night as well. Incidentally, we filmed these pictures from onboard a plane that was piloted by Petr Deynekin, commander in chief of the Russian Air Force

In the course of the exercise, besides carrying out inter-theater maneuvering by large air forces and their transfer in the shortest possible time from one strategic direction to another, control of strategic nuclear forces was practiced. Transferring units and formations of the mobile forces being formed now—the backbone of which will consist of airborne troops—by military transport aviation planes was also practiced during the exercises.

At the final stage the tasks of destroying the enemy's aviation grouping, striking his airfields and aviation bases, and achieving air supremacy were practiced.

The exercises have finished; the planes and the people have returned safely to the bases. A lot of thanks were expressed both to the pilots who had carried out the difficult flight and to the technical personnel that had ensured the reliable performance of the very complicated aviation equipment. [video shows Deynekin interview]

[Begin Deynekin recording] Personally I am satisfied with the results of the exercises. In the course of these exercises I was once again convinced that the Russian Air Force is able to carry out its tasks, and, in defiance to skeptics, I can now state with the facts confirmed by documents that Russia has and will have wings. [end recording]

Supreme Soviet

Parliament To Investigate Rumors of 'State Coup'

LD1806181793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1745 GMT 18 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS commentator Aleksandr Mineyev]

[Text] Moscow June 18 TASS—Russian lawmakers instituted an inquiry into the rumours saying that the presidential team was plotting a state coup and preparing to disband the parliament. The inquiry resembles the notorious "case on snow-ploughs" that so much excited deputies earlier this year.

While during the March session of the Congress of People's Deputies Mikhail Astafyev distracted the forum from its law-making activities by a bloodcurdling report on an alleged bringing of military units in the Kremlin, on 18 June people's Deputy Boris Tarasov persuaded his colleagues to demand an account from Russian Security Minister Viktor Barannikov on an alleged secret plan for the storm of the "White House" by special task forces of the Security Ministry. In March, all the ballyhoo was caused by the movement of snow-ploughs on the Kremlin territory, in June the alarm was sounded because of too thick greenery round the training centre of the Russian Security Ministry outside Moscow. A group of investigators led by Tarasov failed to come to terms with the training centre officials.

The investigation group went to the Moscow suburbs on 17 June to verify the report by the daily "PRAVDA" of June 17, which alleged that "the circles close to the president have drawn up a plan providing for seizure of the 'White House' (Russia's parliamentary building) by special task units and liquidation of the Supreme Soviet", as well as that "those units were being trained near the village of Novaya in the Moscow region's Balashikha district". After failing to find any evidence at the training ground of the Dzergzinskiy interior division, the lawmakers came to the training centre of the Security Ministry, where they encountered, according to Tarasov, "complete rebuff and lack of understanding" from officials and "resolute refusal not only to show anything but even to let them in".

Although a few hours before Tarasov's speech in the parliament the Security Ministry published in "PRAVDA" an official denial of the rumours, the deputy's resentment with the chill welcome he had been given at the training centre prompted a decision by the parliament to immediately call the minister for account.

However, the lawmakers never remembered their decision until the close of the session. Barannikov did not appear in the "White House". Probably, he had more important matters to settle than to wrangle with deputies over snow-ploughs (or rather watering machines, taking into account the current season). The more so as such a "deputies' investigation" is not the first of the kind, and the scenario is clear from the very outset.

Work Interrupted by 'Political Disputes'

LD1806192893 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1450 GMT 18 Jun 93

[Text] [Unidentified announcer] Usually we receive the information about the work of the Supreme Soviet of Russia from our observer Aleksandr Ruvinskiy straight from the White House, but today, probably, a session was finished some time ago and he is already here.

[Ruvinskiy] The session is over; I am here; and I will tell you what happened today in the Supreme Soviet. By the way, this plenary session today was the only one this week. This session will work for another two weeks. Probably it is strange, but they are cancelling or postponing plenary sessions more and more often now.

But a lot of work is supposed to be done as yet. Today, as it often happens now, there were, so to say, two parallel directions for the work of the Supreme Soviet. On the one hand, this was an ordinary parliamentary business work. According to this they considered the situation in the industry of children's food and finally adopted a law on introducing cash registers to settle accounts with the population. They also adopted the basis of a law on the status of small peoples and other important documents.

But on the other hand, this business work was interrupted all the time by political disputes. As a result of one of them, People's Deputy Boris Tarasov even made a statement at a news conference today on depriving Aleksandr Ruvinskiy, the Mayak correspondent, that is myself, of the accreditation to parliament. Yes, yes! Well, I will tell you how it happened. In the morning, Deputy Tarasov made a statement that probably behind the president's back a conspiracy is takeing place to seize the White House. The PRAVDA newspaper has published this story. Tarasov himself tried to check this information, but a guard did not allow him to enter a protected facility where, as the author of the article believes, a training of special groups might be under way. PRAVDA wrote about the possibility of seizing the White House, eliminating all the witnesses, and even, possibly, setting it on fire. Deputy Tarasov demanded that Minister of Security Barannikov comment upon it

and to give an explanation why he, Tarasov, and other deputies were not allowed to enter the territory of the military unit.

I reported this on Mayak at once and Tarasov was listening to it. But he did not hear that I quoted PRAVDA newspaper, but I really did. And this was the reason for his statement at the news conference.

Of course, I understand that the Supreme Soviet is not used to apologizing. Besides, there were quite a lot of announcements on preparing for any kind of conspiracy at sessions of the Supreme Soviet. For example, let me remind you about a speech by Leon Andronov and so on. The Supreme Soviet did not apologize either.

The Supreme Soviet received today an inquiry from the president on means for holding the constitutional conference in Moscow. But the Supreme Soviet's attitude toward everything connected with the Constitutional Conference is extremely painful.

In particular, the fact that some chairmen of committees support this conference has become the reason for including a special question on a statement of Deputy Baburin in the agenda of today's session. Baburin made the statement that he is resigning from the committee for legislation. This was a form of protest by Deputy Baburin. Actually, it is a personal question and such statements have never been considered before at sessions of the Supreme Soviet. But in this particular case, the Supreme Soviet decided to pay more attention to this case.

As far as other important events are concerned, I would like to pay attention to the voting according to which the Supreme Soviet decided not to consider the question on public prosecutors at the trial of the State Committee for the State of Emergency at this session. This means that the trial will be postponed for an uncertain period of time. Who will benefit in this case? Our listeners may think about it themselves.

[Announcer] Aleksandr Ilich, at the end I would like you to answer a small question. I think it is rather strange that at last sessions of the Supreme Soviet deputies were not discussing questions that they should discuss. It seems to me that they are considering questions that are not very important. At the present time, we have much more important questions to discuss.

[Ruvinskiy] You know at the moment the deputies are very much concerned about their own future. They are dealing with all problems at the sessions, bearing in mind their own problems. The deputies are very nervous during the sessions, to put it mildly. The president said that there will be the elections soon, in October. The Supreme Soviet absolutely disagrees with this. There are a lot of other disputes between the executive and legislative power. The deputies do not know what to do, I think.

[Announcer] I think that, in any case and especially in such a difficult situation that we have now in our country, one should work very seriously to the end, even if you do not work there tomorrow.

[Ruvinskiy] Well, this is exactly why the deputies have been elected.

[Announcer] Unfortunately at the moment, this is too far from real life. Thank you for your interesting report.

Further on Rutskoy Meeting With 'Army Reform'

PM1806130993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 Jun 93 First Edition p 2

[Report by Aleksandr Mozgovoy: "Aleksandr Rutskoy: In Two or Three Years We May Not Have an Army"]

[Excerpt] Russian Federation Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy had a meeting in the White House on Krasnopresnenskaya Embankment on 16 June with members of the "Army Reform" deputies' group and representatives of public and political movements and journalists; the meeting was devoted to the current state of the country's Armed Forces.

"In a recent meeting with Armed Forces commanders," A. Rutskoy said, "President Boris Yeltsin made what the media described as a program speech, but one must be objective. I don't know about you, but I saw nothing in it that could be described as a program. The conference heard the 'historic words' to the effect that the Army must be a guarantor of stability, a guarantor of economic and political reforms in Russia. I believe that each one of us is aware that the basic function of the Armed Forces, of the Russian Army must be defense, that is, the ability to defend the state against an outside attack.

"If you look at the actual situation in the Armed Forces, the picture is a depressing one. The media say so and objective military commanders say so. In order to be able to safeguard defense you need to create conditions for enhancing combat readiness and mobility and providing for the social needs of servicemen and members of their families."

A. Rutskoy cited the following example: Whereas in the Soviet Union around 200,000 commissioned and noncommissioned officers were without accommodations, this figure now exceeds 400,000 in Russia.

And you cannot build a relationship with the Armed Forces just by handing out promises and general-officer ranks. According to A. Rutskoy, there are more generals in the Russian Army today than there were in the Soviet Union. And making people generals does not solve social problems.

Concerning the Armed Forces' combat readiness, the vice president said that the Navy was in a particularly deplorable state. According to him, the Russian Navy is unprepared for combat: Many ships and submarines are simply not in a fit state to go to sea. A. Rutskoy proposed

setting up a special deputies' group to study the state of affairs in the Navy and to adopt measures to regenerate it. Similar groups could be set up to tackle the problems of the Air Force and the Ground Forces. If everything is left as it is Russia will have no army at all in two-three years' time. [passage omitted]

Rutskoy Holds News Conference

LD1906051493 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1440 GMT 18 Jun 93

[News conference by Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy at a meeting with the Army Reform faction at the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet in Moscow on 16 June; with introduction by unidentified station correspondent; from the "Parliamentary Hour" program—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Aleksandr Rutskoy is a combat general, a hero of the Soviet Union and a vice president, elected by nationwide consensus. Recognition and respect for him by the people of Russia is steadily increasing. But this alone is not the main reason for the president's severe blockade of Rutskoy. A month ago, Boris Yeltsin removed Aleksandr Rutskoy from the position of chairman of the Interdepartmental Commission for Combating Crime and Corruption. The exposure of the crimes of corrupt officials that Rutskoy made at a session of the Supreme Soviet shocks one by the scale and cynicism with which the crimes have been committed. Punishment was inevitable. The vice president whose status is written into the Russian Federation Constitution, has been stripped of all his powers and constitutional rights and deprived of speaking to anybody in his own office and with those who have elected him.

The Army Reform faction, the parliament's largest faction with 185 deputies, has invited the disgraced vice president, who nevertheless has not yet submitted, to the House of the Soviets for a meeting with deputies and correspondents.

[Rutskoy] Esteemed people's deputies, representatives of socio-political movements and parties. I also welcome journalists and all those who have come here to express their views on those issues that our society is confronting.

One of the main topics worrying our society at present is the state of the Armed Forces. Recently, Russian President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, during his meeting with the command staff of the Armed Forces, delivered—as the mass media noted—a program speech. Let us be objective: I do not know about you, but I did not find any kind of program in the speech. There was, so to speak, a historic phrase that the Army should become the guarantor of stability and of economic and political reforms in Russia. I think each of us understands that the main function of the Russian Armed Forces is defense—to protect the state from an outside attack—that is, to ensure the stability of peace by defending not only Russia itself, but also Eurasia. If one wants to really assess the state of the Armed Forces, then the picture is, at the very least, depressing. If one is speaking about the state's defense capability, then most likely everyone understands that to ensure defense, along with the necessary preconditions to increase the combat readiness and mobility of the Armed Forces, one of the main problems is to ensure that social issues and the living standards of the servicemen and members of their families are tackled.

What is the realistic picture today? We had about 200,000 officers and men without housing in the Soviet Army, in the Soviet Union, whereas today, we already have over 400,000 in the same plight. So you see, everything is progressing, only not for the better but for the worse.

Regarding combat readiness in the Armed Forces. The Army Reform [Reforma Armii] faction is the largest faction in the Russian Federation. I will be objective about this: the fact that the people's deputies are slipping in public popularity is mainly the fault of the deputies themselves. I ask them not to take offense, because it is time to speak out openly and objectively. Why do I believe this? Because the deputies themselves have not stood up for their most important supervisory functions: to oversee the implementation of economic reform, reform in the armed forces, and so on and so forth.

I can say quite clearly that the Navy is not combat-ready today. A commission of deputies must be set up to see this for itself so that it can report back to the Supreme Soviet, and subsequently, there should be a congress on the state of affairs in the Russian Federation Navy. By this I mean the Northern Fleet, the Baltic Fleet, the Pacific Fleet. What has happened with the Black Sea Fleet and the Caspian Flotilla I think is understood by all, so there is no need to explain it.

Take the current polemics over the Black Sea Fleet. Some people say that the solution to the problem is a combined fleet, while others conclude that it has to be shared out. But you see, they have been trying to sort this problem out for three years already, and you can see how it has all turned out. Part of the fleet has hoisted the St. Andrews flag, that is, refused to take orders from the Ukrainian command. The danger of this is a conflict involving people who have weapons, and everybody knows what will happen then. This must not be allowed to happen under any circumstances. No country in the world would leave a fleet and its officers, noncommissioned officers and sailors to their fate. So this problem must be resolved immediately. I think, I am deeply convinced, that people's deputies of the Russian Federation should be involved in maintaining the fleet at combat readiness and in providing a realistic assessment of the state of affairs in the fleet. That is why they are called people's: it is the people's fleet, the people's army. I think that unless the people's deputies intervene, the problem will simply get worse every day.

Today, out of five aircraft carriers—to give just one figure—only two are fit to go out to sea, and three are not. As for the submarine fleet, the picture there is even gloomier, and the same is true of cruisers. For this reason, I believe it is acutely necessary to make a real study and a real assessment of the state of affairs in the navy, with the assistance of people's deputies. The same applies to the air force, the ground forces, and the airborne troops. In other words, we need a real assessment. Today, that real, objective assessment is lacking. If we leave everything in the state in which our Armed Forces are today, we shall end up losing them altogether within two or three years.

What methods would we like to use to stop the disintegration of the Black Sea Fleet—force or negotiation? Regarding the use of force, you know, unlike those who are proposing it, I have seen where the use of force gets you. I myself had to fight in Afghanistan, and I would not like to witness such a drama, especially between two peoples who are close in terms of both blood and religion. We and the Ukrainians are fraternal people, we are both Slavic people, and we must not, under any circumstances, allow force to be used to sort out relations between us. I believe that everything that has happened with respect to the fleet is nothing but political adventurism in the way that the upper echelons of power have gone about tackling this problem. I consider it unacceptable to mess with the Armed Forces, and these problems of the Black Sea Fleet must be settled in the very near future. How must they be settled? The answer is: only by negotiation.

Now, regarding our servicemen based outside the Russian Federation. The legal status governing the presence of our forces outside the Russian Federation has somehow still not been defined. Who is responsible for this? Again, it is the Supreme Soviet and the people's deputies. Since the Army Reform group is the largest, I believe that this group ought to immediately take the initiative and adopt a legislative act defining the legal basis governing the presence of our forces outside the Russian Federation, because we cannot leave the Armed Forces in the conditions that they are currently facing in Georgia, the Dniester region, the Baltic, and Central Asia. They are citizens of the Russian Federation, they are our boys, and as you know, virtually every day, parents who are waiting for their sons to come home from Central Asia or Georgia actually get them back in a coffin. This process needs to be stopped, and stopped immediately. For this reason, it is one of the principal tasks today for the Army Reform group of Russian people's deputies.

[Rutskoy reads next question] Next question: What is your view of the economic situation in the country?

Well, I have given my views of the economic situation many times and explained it, and I think there is no need to repeat it again because you all know very well the situation and what is happening today in Russia. But, in general, it could be summed up as follows—just by one example: The death rate in the Russian Federation is double that of the birth rate. So, draw your own conclusions from this. What sort of social situation do citizens live in and what economic situation do we have in this country? On the whole, we could say that to achieve the results of 1990-1991, the Russian Federation already will need 10 years minimum—this is to reach those indices from which we have started, calling this start: economic reform.

[Rutskoy reads next question] The next question: what is your opinion of the Constitutional Conference and the presidential draft of the constitution?

I have also said a lot here about this. I think many will agree with me on this. I am not in favor of any side breaking laws—be it the president's side, the parliament's side, or the government's side. I think there was absolutely no need for creating yet another battlefield: the so-called Constitutional Conference; and some very important politicians, like Mr. Shumeyko, already advocate setting up a constitutional assembly on the basis of the Constitutional Conference. And then they offer the congress nothing more than simply to vote in favor of it, that is all, without so much as a chance to make amendments to it. This is nothing but a violation of the laws of the Russian Federation, and this with our silent agreement—and by silent agreement I mean that we on our side are doing nothing more than just talking and protesting. And the arbitrariness simply continues. I have no doubt whatsoever that on 26 June, this constitution will be simply imposed on the citizens of the Russian Federation.

But I think that everyone should clearly understand that all of us will have to live with this constitution—both those in favor of such constitution and those against, in other words, all the citizens of the Russian Federation. And I believe that the constitution should be adopted only by legitimate means. Why? Because a violation of the law will lead to civil disobedience or confrontation. I think everyone knows how this usually ends up. I think that if there was a need to reinforce the Constitutional Commission—which was set up according to the Constitution and the law—with representatives of the subjects of the Federation, there was such an opportunity. And if there was a need to reinforce the Constitutional Commission with representatives of the public and political movements, the opportunity for this was there too. Therefore, there is no need to stage this tragi-comedy around the constitution. There should be only one draft of the constitution.

There should be only one draft constitution, and it should be drawn up with the help of a system of laws; and these laws should not be violated.

[Rutskoy reads next question] Next: What are your predictions about the future development of the political situation?

Well, you can see for yourself what is going on. I think that everybody would agree with me—I do not want to

offend representatives of the subjects of the Russian Federation, I mean the republics part of the Russian Federation—that we should also be frank here. If we want to preserve a democratic state and build a democratic state that reflects the principles of federalism and not unitarism, then I think it is understandable to everyone that all the subjects of the federation—republics, krays, oblasts, and autonomies—should have equal political and economic rights and freedoms. In this way, we will preserve a single state, and there will be a real possibility for building a democratic state ruled by law. If we choose another path, as proposed today by some, that is, to give special economic rights to the republics part of the Russian Federation, then all this will end in the same way as the Soviet Union did, since the principle that had ruled the composition of the Soviet Union would be the same as the one proposed today by leaders of the republics part of the Russian Federation. This should by no means be allowed to happen. Why? Because this will be followed by separatist and nationalist tendencies, and, in the end, we will have instead of one Russia, some 50-60 principalities. We will lose the single state, the one that unified us: the Russian peoples. This is how I assess the development of the political situation.

[Rutskoy reads out next question] Next: 60 million Russian and Russian-speaking citizens have been left behind in neighboring states. What is your view on this problem?

A lot has been said about this issue, and this issue has been repeatedly discussed, but in reality—let us again embark on the path of realism—absolutely nothing has been done in this regard. I believe that the necessity to resolve the citizenship of these people, ensuring the political and social rights of these people living in other territories, in neighboring states, and the protection of these rights, is long overdue, and this should be resolved without delay, because the citizens of the Russian Federation are being turned into second-class citizens. I think that this issue should be tackled without delay. It could also be resolved with the help of the Supreme Soviet and a common approach in finding a solution to this issue.

[Rutskoy reads out next question] Next: the Russian Army is going through hard times. The Army top brass is corrupt. It is acting in an arbitrary manner and is punishing democratic-minded officers. Do you intend to take steps to stop the disintegration of the Russian armed forces?

Well, I have already spoken on this. I think that there is a necessity to set up a commission composed of deputies of the Army Reform faction, which could give a realistic assessment of the situation in the Armed Forces by going to the localities—military districts, fleets, air corps—and drawing the necessary conclusions. They would be based on the results of the trips. Then the commission could take concrete action with the help of the government and the president.

You have spoken out on many occasions about the dacha problem, about corruption. Let me tell you: you read in the media and hear about what is going on in the Armed Forces. There are masses of incidences of corruption and bribery. You know what is going on regarding the Western Group of Forces. The commander-in-chief himself of the group justifies himself on television and says that the cases cited by myself and the media are slander and deliberate lies against the command, attempts to blacken the name of the Armed Forces, and so on and so forth. You know that Ilyushenko spoke before this and afterward. In actual fact, the situation is quite complex. In the Western Group of Forces alone, 22 criminal investigations have been opened in connection with the evidence that I forwarded to the law-enforcement agencies. Twenty two criminal investigations! And there are other checks in progress. The deputy procurator general, Nikolay Ivanovich Makarov, is currently at the group with Korovnikov, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet committee for veteran affairs. They were sent there to verify the truthfulness of evidence handed to the chairman of the supervisory body, comrade Ilyushenko, in comments made in front of journalists and in the media.

[Rutskoy reads out next question] Not long ago, the members of the supervisory department of the Russian president's administration were told by Aleksey Ilyushenko that an investigation had been held into your speech to the Supreme Soviet concerning misappropration of property in the Western Group of Forces. The investigating officers uncovered no instances of offenses being committed. What to you have to say about this?

Well, Ilyushenko was told by the president of the Russian Federation that no instances had been discovered. Just as the order was given to the previous chairman of the supervisory department, who said so himself, not to forward evidence from the investigation into the Western Group of Forces—this was six months ago—to myself, that is, to the vice president. Not under any circumstances. So, the previous chairman obeyed his instructions, but eventually, in the long run, of course, supplied these documents to me. This chief of the supervisory department was told simply to work things so that Rutskoy would accuse the Western Group of Forces and the armed forces of corruption, misappropration, and squandering of property, and so that this would be done in front of journalists.

Those of you who remember that news conference will remember how journalists were asking: What did three generals have to do with 17 million rubles—Ilyushenko answered that they were dismissed without any pension rights, which is more or less a punishment— to continue, what happened to the vehicles bought with the money that was meant for building accommodations for the military, and so on. That is why Ilyushenko looked fairly gloomy after being asked all these questions by journalists. I think that an objective investigation... [pauses] the investigation is proceeding quite actively, and I think its objectiveness is beyond doubt. And the people and

people's deputies of the Russian Federation will soon hear about how things are going regarding red mercury, and the Western Group of Forces, and gold, and smuggling gold disguised as an exhibition of coins, and all the rest of it.

Of all the documents that I handed over, criminal proceedings have been instituted for all 10 of them. You will remember that I said figuratively that there were 11 suitcases-full. They are sorted documents. They were handed over in the relevant files. In all, there are 10 categories. Criminal proceedings have been instituted for all 10 categories. What else can one say?

By the way, Mr. Burbulis has now failed to respond to a fourth summons for an interview as part of the investigation, and the special procurator now intends to compel him to come to such a meeting and to have him brought to court.

[Indistinct question by unidentified correspondent]

[Rutskoy] Let us begin with this. I do not know where you have been living, perhaps on the moon, but I have lived in the Soviet Union, and specifically in Russia, and I was born in Russia. I have never lived on the moon. So all the people in this room, including you, were undoubtedly members of that society. As for who did what, I think that any profession that benefited society was an honorable one. I served in the Armed Forces. My military rank is referred to with irony, but, you know, a general is not a prostitute or a black marketeer. You have to be able to win and earn the rank. [applause]

So, I am not one of those who get it for deferring to rank and toadying, things that happen today and that are regarded as normal. Do not confuse my rank with that. I earned my rank properly. I served as a pilot in the Army and saw active service. I got the rank by virtue of my duties. There are a lot of questions today about my military rank of general. On re-entering the General Staff Academy I was a deputy commander. On completing the General Staff Academy I was appointed chief of the USSR Air Force combat training center. In Army terms, that is the equivalent of an Air Force corps. So all this is in line with my rank and the posts I have held.

Regarding my membership in the CPSU, I will not be mistaken if I say that at least 80 percent of this audience consists of former CPSU members, as well as the president of the Russian Federation, a former candidate for the Politburo. Therefore, this is not a surprise. We lived in that society. That is why I was never a mister and think that I will not become one. You know, I do not like this word, mister.

[Unidentified correspondent] Can you tell us, please, what is your view of the START II. Is this not a treaty on strategic treachery? And do you think it should be ratified in its present form?

[Rutskoy] The world should come to a decision to completely outlaw all nuclear weapons, just as it did with biological and chemical weapons. This would be the most humanitarian step for the preservation of stability in the world. I think that humanity will accept such a step positively. But if a reduction of strategic defense and assault weapons is carried out in an order of some priority in regard to this or the other side—in particular, as is the case with Russia, to a larger extent than in regard to the United States—then I believe that such an agreement is not acceptable. If we are to talk about cooperation, friendship, mutual understanding, and partnership with the United States of America, then there should be an equal approach toward reduction of the strategic nuclear missile assault systems, both on the U.S. side and on the Russian Federation's side.

I think it is necessary first of all to reduce the obsolete types of nuclear weapons, because it costs a lot of money to keep them combat-ready and maintain their safety. And here it looks like we are reducing weapons with the best potential without cutting down on the obsolete ones. As a result, we are spending money on the reduction of the weapons that have good prospects along with spending money on the maintenance of the obsolete ones, which, in the future, we would need to get rid of all the same. As you see, here we are faced with triple costs. To avoid this, we need a differentiated approach. Furthermore, if we are to be consistent, I believe that first we have to mentally absorb the START I treaty, decide on reduction of the strategic nuclear assault weapons as envisaged in START I, and only after that go over to START II. That is my opinion.

Well, you know that in simple human terms one wonders whether it is possible to solve all the problems which our state is facing? Is it possible to undertake any realistic actions with respect to events happening today?

We see that total unlawfulness is reigning. The Russian Federation parliament is being totally ignored. In reality the parliament is a mirror image of what is going on in our society. A parliament is what society is. The people elected the parliament—the president is stating openly that the soviets and the parliament have been illegitimate since 1918. You understand, he is simply saying this openly. And the parliament can do nothing about this and nothing with the president, nor those political figures from the president's circle nor with a government that has gone too far in its actions and to the utmost lengths in its lying. The parliament can do absolutely nothing about all this.

I want to tell you the following: the sooner the parliamentary corps and the socio-political movements and parties, who are in the mood for real actions not for the radicalism of the left or right orientation, wake up for action directed toward a significant change in the situation and the state that the society is in, the better. Otherwise, we will continue to slide into the abyss. That is why I hold the view that such meetings should usually end with some kind of definite decision being adopted. I think that such a decision should be implemented at all costs. If we have already said here that today it is

necessary to make a realistic assessment of the situation in the armed forces and of its combat readiness and to find a solution to social problems in the armed forces, then this should be achieved—a commission should be set up.

Now take a look at all these orders issued by military leaders according to the principle of "no way". Such people should be give account of their actions at the supreme soviet and they should be made to leave the supreme soviet without their shoulder-straps and without their ranks. Then there will be a real change to the situation. Otherwise, if we continue to wag a finger and say: naughty, naughty, one should not do this, we do not agree with this or that or that one should have done something differently, we will never find a solution to the problems our society is facing. That is why I think there is an acute necessity to go from words to concrete actions. I would like to say again that if some decision has been taken it should implemented. There are laws and the constitution to ensure that this is done. Only one thing is missing here: inter-action and uniting around a common political aim: the aim of the real revival of the state. If this uniting does happen then I have no doubts that all that we have said here could be achieved in the near future.

Regional Affairs

Yeltsin Arrives for Official Visit in Yakutsk

LD1806145793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1543 GMT 18 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow June 18 TASS—A plane with President Boris Yeltsin of Russia on board landed at 17:15 Moscow time (23:15 local time) in Yakutsk, the capital of the Sakha Republic (Yakutia), TASS was reported over the phone from the Yakut president's office.

After a ceremony of greeting, Yeltsin went to his temporary residence.

At 9:00 on Saturday the Russian president is scheduled to meet Yakut President Mikhail Nikolayev at the Republic's government building.

Comments on Purpose of Trip

LD1806162193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1527 GMT 18 Jun 93

[Report by ITAR-TASS special correspondent Gennadiy Telalayev]

[Text] Yakutsk, 18 Jun—Answering journalists' questions at Yakutsk airport, President Boris Yeltsin of Russia said that this was a scheduled trip, during the course of which he wanted to talk to people, meet the leaders of the republic, find out about its problems, and see how the republic can be helped.

Talking to journalists, President Mikhail Nikolayev of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) pointed out that this was the second time Boris Yeltsin had been to the republic—he came here first at the end of 1990. Mikhail Nikolayev voiced his satisfaction that the Russian president's current visit was taking place at a time when the Republic of Yakutia was making its first steps to establish its statehood. He said that the president of Russia was well aware that "the might of the Russian Federation state will be augmented by strong territories and republics."

Further Yeltsin Remarks

LD1806202493 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 18 Jun 93

[Text] Today the main attention in Russia is focused on Boris Yeltsin's visit to Yakutia. Here's what our correspondent, Vyacheslav Stepanov, reports from Yakutsk.

[Stepanov] The president's airplane arrived toward the end of 18 June. He was met at the steps of the plane by Mikhail Nikolayev, president of the Sakha Republic, and other leaders of the republic. In a brief interview, Boris Nikolayevich noted that he is pleased to meet once again the inhabitants of the land of Sakha. He fondly recalled his visit:

[Begin Yeltsin recording] I remember that visit. I especially remember the temperature of minus 57 degrees. For me, even for someone from the Urals, that was somewhat difficult. I remember a herd of deer which we were approaching and which, at those temperatures, was huddled together. I remember the problems which reindeer breeders told me about. I remember that first and foremost they came out with social issues, so to speak, which they found difficult. I remember that then I helped in a practical fashion. I am very pleased that I was able to make a very, very small contribution to the difficult life of Yakutia-Sakha. [end recording]

[Stepanov] He stressed that the present visit is not in pursuit of political aims, but rather it will be to get to know culture, traditions, and everyday life. But the correspondents, of course, could not avoid politics especially at the present time during such tense work on drawing up the basic law of the Russian Federation. The president said of this:

[Begin Yeltsin recording] Correct and professional work is being carried out so that there is, indeed, a single and very modern draft constitution. [end recording]

[Stepanov] Saturday, 19 June will be a very full working day for Boris Nikolayevich. There are to be meetings in the capital of the republic and participation in the national holiday to celebrate the arrival of summer in Tatinskiy rayon.

Visits Jewelry Factory

LD1906071493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0652 GMT 19 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Yakutsk June 19 TASS—President Boris Yeltsin began his workday in Yakutsk on Saturday [19 June] with a visit to a jewelry factory owned by the Yakutia gold concern. The factory became a joint venture since last October.

The American firm Eurotrade International which supplied equipment and knowhow to the factory, owns 35 per cent of its authorised capital.

After an inspection of the factory and an exhibition of jewelry, Yeltsin noted that "everything mined in the republic should remain here to an utmost extent. Regrettably, there is an outdated practice and theory that Yakutsk cannot make jewlry out of their gold and silver.

"However," the president noted, "Yakut specialists have proved in a matter of one year after Yakutia was granted the right to process precious metal by the Russian president's decree that they are capable of making marvelous things.

"The Yakut people are a talented people," Yeltsin stressed, "and we should have greater faith in them and give opportunities to them to develop the wealth of the republic's entrails on their own."

Then, the Russian president had a meeting with the Sakha Republic leaders at the government house.

After the meeting, Deputy Speaker of the Republican Parliament Vasiliy Vlasov said in an interview with ITAR-TASS that the republican leaders called attention of the Russian president at the meeting to the fact that the Yakut people support the course for economic and political reforms.

Yeltsin pointed to the stable social and political situation in the republic.

According to Vlasov, the meeting discussed the delivery of materials and technical equipment to areas of the extreme north. He said that Yakut people were very satisfied with a recent decree by the Russian president repealing preliminary payments for the delivery of goods to extreme north areas. Nevertheless, the problem of deliveries remains. An understanding was reached at the meeting that new unconventional methods of settling the question of deliveries should be looked for under conditions of market relations.

After the meeting with the republican leaders, Yeltsin flew by helicopter to the village of Ytyk-Kel in the Tattinskiy district where he will participate in a national holiday called Ysyakh.

Completes Visit

LD2006092693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0720 GMT 20 Jun 93

[ITAR-TASS special correspondent Gennadiy Tallalayev]

[Text] Yakutsk, 20 Jun (TASS)—Today President Boris Yeltsin completed his short working visit to the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) and left for Moscow.

At the airport of Yakutsk Boris Yeltsin answered a question by an ITAR-TASS correspondent about his impressions on the trip. He underlined that Sakha is "a unique republic as far as the talent of the people, its wealth, and the territory are concerned." He said that "it has a good future, but we should help it. Actually, I came here to very seriously discuss problems the republic is facing with the leadership of the republic." Boris Yeltsin said that the main support will be "to give more rights and independence to its people".

During his trip the president visited a jewelry works of the "Gold of Yakutia" concern, looked at its output, and met workers of the enterprise. Boris Yeltsin has also met the leadership of the republic. They discussed socio-economic problems.

Mamodayev Contends To Be Head of Chechnya

LD2006130293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1236 GMT 20 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Moscow June 20 TASS—"I have been and remain the head of the legitimate Chechen Government. Only the Chechen parliament may relieve me of these duties," Yaragi Mamodayev, the head of a Chechen Government of People's Trust, opposing Dzhokhar Dudayev, told ITAR-TASS on Sunday [20 June].

Mamodayev denied reports by a number of media about his "flight" from Groznyy. According to Mamodayev, he is in Moscow "to settle urgent problems of purely economic relationships between Russia and Chechnya" and will return to Groznyy soon.

Commenting on a report by the Chechen press agency that Chechen Prosecutor-General Elza Sheripova urged the Russian leadership to extradite Yaragiy Mamodayev, the prime minister said those demands "are simply ridiculous". "In Chechnya, there is no prosecutor-general because only the parliament, not the president, may appoint such an official according to the Chechen Constitution," Mamodayev said.

Until recently, Mamodayev, 40, was the closest associate of Dzhokhar Dudayev. Early in May the Chechen parliament in agreement with the opposition ·ally appointed him the chairman of the Cabinet of Ministers and instructed him to form a government of people's trust. Dudayev did not agree with this decision. He did

not recognise the new head of government and even announced the dissolution of the parliament itself.

Mamodayev and his ministers, in order to avoid bloodshed, abandoned the government building in Groznyy but did not officially resign their powers.

Chechen Leader Assesses Threat From Dudayev

LD1906131093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1031 GMT 19 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Moscow, 19 Jun—The crisis of power in Chechnya has reached its highest point and should be resolved in the very near future, said Yaragi Mamodayev, head of the national trust government which has been created by the Chechnya parliament but is not recognized by President Dzhokhar Dudayev.

Mamodayev said in an interview today with an ITAR-TASS correspondent that "Dzhokhar Dudayev has only one card left to play—to try again to create the image of an external enemy in the minds of the people." To this end, Mamodayev fears, provocations may be organized involving either the non-indigenous population of the republic or problems of the borders with Ingushetia. Mamodayev himself is already taking some measures to prevent such a development of events. He has already met Ingush President Ruslan Aushev in Moscow as well as representatives of the Russian-speaking population of Chechnya.

Mamodayev is convinced that "there are quite a few healthy forces in Chechnya capable of taking the situation into their own hands and this also means the fate of the people." Among the possible developments of events in Groznyy, Mamodayev specified the following: "By setting himself in opposition to the people, Dzhokhar Dudayev will soon be left on his own. He will then abandon everything and vanish from the republic."

Chechen Opposition Reports on Republic Situation

LD1906125593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1112 GMT 19 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz, 19 Jun—A representative of the Chechen opposition has asked the commandant of the town of Mozdok (North Ossetia) from Nadterechnyy rayon of Chechnya "to render military assistance."

He explained this request by the fact that, according to him, a detachment of guards of President Dzhokhar Dudayev numbering 500 men arrived in the territory of Nadterechnyy rayon from Groznyy in order "to exert pressure on the inhabitants of the rayon." He said that during a meeting organized by the guards to support Dudayev in the village of Znamenskoye the guards killed four and wounded three local people using submachine guns.

An ITAR-TASS correspondent gathered from the headquarters of the interim administration that the opposition did not receive any military assistance from the commandant of Mozdok.

Chechen President on 'Very Discreet' Paris Visit

PM2106100293 Paris LE MONDE in French 18 Jun 93 p 5

[Sophie Shihab report: "The Very Discreet Visit to Paris by the Chechen President"]

[Text] If one of his interlocutors had not deemed it right to warn the press and if he had not been seen leaving the Royal Monceau hotel, Dzhokhar Dudayev, the former general of the Soviet strategic air forces, who periodically threatens to use nuclear weapons against his Russian enemies, would have made a completely unnoticed visit to Paris.

So much so that the Quai d'Orsay was not informed of it and said on Tuesday 15 June, immediately after his arrival that, at all events, France would not have granted a visa for this Chechen president, who was elected by universal suffrage but in a secessionist republic of the North Caucasus which no state has recognized—especially not Moscow, for which Chechnya, its 1 million inhabitants, its refineries, and its famous mafias, are still part of the Russian Federation. This despite the fact that it is the only state in the former USSR to have succeeded so far in completely getting rid of all its Russian soldiers. It is true that they are now massed all around. Strangely enough, this does not prevent the general and president from making visits abroad, which have already taken him to various Muslim countries, and also to London and now Paris. He apparently dined with representatives of [Defense Minister] Mr. Leotard and [Interior Minister] Mr. Pasqua, industrialists, and a representative from the General Directorate for External Security. A dinner organized by his "representative" in France, an intermediary who is trying to interest the big oil, arms, and public works firms in Chechnya's wealth.

According to its president, this wealth does not come from arms or drug trafficking, as is sometimes thought, but from enormous oil reserves—"in which the United States, and Mr. Clinton in person, are very interested." However, on the spot there was a tendency to complain about the fact that Moscow has drained the last Chechen deposits.... But there are other attractions: the MiG planes, nuclear warheads, radar, and other trifles which have been kept in Chechnya and can be examined on the spot. At all events, the French military apparently offered the general a few equipment tests on their Mirage-2000 planes based in Orange on Wednesday.

The French officials and the industrialists questioned all said they had had no "official" contact with General

Dudayev, although some admitted that he was in France—from 13 to 16 June, it was stated at the Roayl Monceau reception desk and by his French "security service" on the fifth floor. This is probably preferable for everybody, and at all events for the Chechen democratic opposition—reduced to silence for having too often condemned the behavior of thugs in President Dudayev's guard whose tanks dispersed the remnants of the local parliament on 4 May.

Dudayev on Visit to West, Direct Rule, Rights

LD2006125093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1122 GMT 20 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kuzmin]

[Text] Vienna June 20 TASS—Chechen President Dzhokhar Dudayev, who is touring European countries, has met with journalists here. He said he had talks with representatives of the business communities and parliamentarians from Germany, France and Austria, and with representatives of the United Nations Industrial Development Organisation (UNIDO). Dudayev said that when in France he had been given an opportunity to test a newest Mirage jet-fighter.

According to the Chechen president, the West receives a "distorted information" about the internal political situation and the latest developments in the republic. He explained the introduction of a direct presidential rule in Chechnya by "a desire to prevent an escalation of violence, not by dictatorial ambitions".

Dudayev believes that over the years of Chechnya's "independence" he managed to prove that the road chosen by him was the right one. He mentioned as his major allies the Confederation of the Highland Peoples of the Caucasus and the Baltic states. The Chechen leader explained foreign countries' "watchful attitude" to him by "the West's fear of Russia".

When asked by journalists why the president did not attend the world human rights conference in Vienna, Dudayev said he did not receive an invitation to the forum but that the results of the work of the conference are of interest to him.

Dudayev described the human rights situation in Chechnya as a "satisfactory" one, stating, however, that "extremists forces do not abandon attempts to provoke bloodshed".

Tambov Oblast Drawn Into Constitutional 'Crisis'

PM1806111493 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 17 Jun 93 First Edition p 2

[Yevgeniy Pisarev report under "Regions' Position" rubric: "Reduced Times Are Good When Sowing"]

[Text] Tambov Oblast—On returning recently from the Constitutional Conference, Aleksandr Ryabov met with journalists and reported that the conference pursues a single aim—to push through the draft of the president's constitution by any means and, at the same time, to break up the organs of representative power and create new structures of management.

Tambov City Soviet deputies voiced serious concern at the reduced time for discussing the drafts of the constitution and at the unconstitutional procedure for adopting the Fundamental Law.

The "Democratic Russia" deputies' group advanced a dissenting opinion at the session. In its statement it insists that reforms should be based on the results of the April referendum and that work on the new constitution must be conducted on the basis of the president's draft, while involving the parliamentary version. "Democratic Russia" believes that a delay will merely deepen the split in society.

Thus, the constitutional crisis which has broken out in the upper echelons has also drawn quiet and relatively calm Tambov Oblast into this crisis.

International Affairs

Kravchuk News Conference Focuses on Russia

LD1906172593 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1200 GMT 18 Jun 93

[News conference by President Leonid Kravchuk with domestic and foreign correspondents in Kiev—live]

[Text] [Announcer] This is Kiev at 1500. Ukrainian radio is ready to begin a live broadcast of a news conference by Leonid Kravchuk, president of Ukraine. I will remind you that the main subject of the news conference is the outcome of yesterday's Ukrainian-Russian summit talks. Deliveries of Russian oil and gas, the Black Sea Fleet, nuclear weapons—these and many other issues were discussed in Moscow. As the first news conference of Leonid Kravchuk, president of Ukraine, and Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma, right next to the plane at Borispol airport, showed, they managed to resolve many issues. So, we are beginning the broadcast.

[Second announcer] (?Good day), esteemed company. We are beginning the news conference of Leonid Makarovych Kravchuk, president of Ukraine. Following Leonid Makarovych's opening remarks, your questions please from three microphones. Let us begin.

[Kravchuk] I expect that we will discuss a wide range of questions of our political and socioeconomic life in Ukraine. The most important subject today, however, is the subject of the talks with Russia. So I will say a few words on this very issue. Then in my replies to your questions we will cover other issues too.

The discussion, or talks, with the president of Russia did not only touch on the Black Sea Fleet issues, although it, this problem, was the guiding one. In addition, issues of normalizing Ukrainian-Russian relations in the economic sphere and problems of nuclear missiles were examined. An agreement was signed on urgent measures regarding forming the naval forces of Ukraine and the naval fleet of Russia on the basis of the Black Sea Fleet. A corresponding communique was also signed.

The agreement on the Black Sea Fleet contains clauses that define the principles of dividing the Black Sea Fleet and basing the naval fleet of Russia in Ukraine in the transitional period. The division should take place in a 50:50 ratio. The financing of the fleet will correspondingly be in the same 50:50 proportion. In the period prior to the division of the Black Sea Fleet there will be unified norms and types of monetary provision, which is currently an acute issue.

The Russian side will take part in developing the socioeconomic sphere of the town of Sevastopol and other populated areas where Russia's naval forces will be deployed. An interstate commission is to be set up to resolve the practical issues of dividing the fleet. We are to set it up as soon as possible, proportionally. The agreement is subject to ratification by parliaments, taking into account its importance, and taking into account the fact that it embraces a wide range of political and legal problems.

In addition, accords were reached: first, to make more active the preparation of a full-scale political treaty between Ukraine and Russia, and we emphasized right from the beginning that all of the more important issues of the treaty which exists now, signed in Kiev in 1990, should be reflected in the new treaty, but it should broaden the range of political, economic, and legal international issues.

We agreed to prepare an agreement on joint shareholding, taking into account the mutual interests of some enterprises in Russia and Ukraine. For example, the talk is about the possibility of, say, Ukraine holding shares in enterprises in regions regarding oil and gas. We are extremely interested in this. Russia is interested in holding shares in some enterprises, in taking part in holding shares in some enterprises connected with the processing of oil products and others.

The talk is on clearly defined international principles and laws, which have been adopted by Ukraine and Russia; that is, whatever the situation, the controlling package of shares remains in the state, on the territory of which the enterprise is located.

We also agreed to sign an agreement on free trade and setting up joint enterprises.

Incidentally, on the 24th of this month, Russian Prime Ministser Viktor Stepanovych Chernomyrdin will visit Ukraine, and these agreements and others will be signed.

We also agreed on a stage-by-stage transition to world prices for oil and gas with Russia by 1 Januray 1994, with parallel transition to world prices for the transit of these goods across Ukraine; that is, this was always a very difficult problem for us. At these talks, we agreed that world prices for transit too will be correspondingly established.

We also agreed on Russia giving credit to Ukraine on conditions which exist in world practice. We also settled the issue regarding the debts and assets of the former Union on the basis, as we proposed from the very beginning, the zero version, but [words indistinct] premises for embassies of Ukraine, where we so need them. We agreed on this as well.

Russia confirmed the giving of security guarantees to Ukraine before Ukraine ratifies the START I Treaty and the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. There was also a conversation, and in general we defined our positions. Certain international adjustments are still needed on the basis of international documents and on the pricing, on the prices that exist, on compensation by Russia for nuclear materials contained in the nuclear warheads of our weapons, which have been withdrawn. Naturally, if

the treaty is ratified by the Supreme Council, the weapons will be moved to the place designated for their dismantling.

I repeat that all of this was resolved according to the principle of world prices and existing world practice.

It is very difficult; until now we could somehow not come to an agreement on guaranteed servicing of those elements of missile nuclear complexes of Ukraine, which were produced by Russian enterprises. This time, however, we did agree on this; that is, taking into account the complexity of the problems, the acuteness and broadness of the problems, which were discussed, I can say that we resolved them in a constructive way, proceeding from realistic possibilities and the situation which has arisen, and not only according to wishes.

This was briefly about the outcome of our meeting. I want to say again, however, that I expect that through dialogue we will be able to make clear all of the details of this issue and of the other issues which you are interested in. Please.

[Announcer] First microphone, please.

[Correspondent] INTERFAX-Ukraine. Leonid Makarovych: The issue of the political agreement, which you mentioned. Please tell us what new clauses, apart from those which already exist in the current agreement, can in your view be part of such an agreement. Thank you.

[Kravchuk] For example, the issues which are not in it. We have already adopted a whole series of documents, for example on crossing borders without visas. The issue is being resolved at the moment and a document is being studied on dual citizenship, and a whole series of other important issues—ensuring the rights and freedoms of ethnic minorities—because this is a painful issue not only for Russia, but for all of us—so that we clearly determine all issues without exception in a political treaty concerning the rights and freedoms of national minorities—more exactly, Russians in Ukraine and Ukrainians in Russia. The issue is necessarily connected with the recognition of territorial integrity and the absence of any kind of claims (?by the) state, of Ukraine against Russia, or Russia against Ukraine, regarding territory.

[Announcer] Second microphone, please.

[Correspondent] [Name indistinct], from GAZETA WYBORCZA, Poland. Esteemed Mr. President: I would like to ask you about the extraordinary economic committee. Are you going to speak in parliament on giving extraordinary powers to this committee? Or perhaps you want to do this by means of your decree? What kind of powers are these going to be? Has this committee already assembled?

[Kravchuk] You understand, I want to touch on this issue a bit more broadly, the essence of this decree. If one is to try to separate in this way, very conditionally naturally, the acuteness of the problems that exist in society today, the most acute problems, then I would see, let us say, two groups of problems. The first one is the socioeconomic one and the second one is the campaign against crime. They perturb people the most. I think that I tried to bring these two problems together somehow and put them into an organizational course.

You know about one decree. I will sign another decree today. This decree determines that the government and Prime Minister Kuchma will be directly engaged in socioeconomic issues in an extraordinary system, that is, when it will be necessary to efficiently resolve those topical painful problems, which exist in this sphere. It is not necessary to give powers, which are beyond the limits of the competency and possibility of the president and the government itself.

I do not want to carry on appealing to the Supreme Council for some kind of additional powers. I believe that each one should engage in his or her affairs, but the Supreme Council should quickly adopt those legislative acts, which it is up to it to adopt. In this way, this group of issues will be tackled by the prime minister.

A decree will be signed today—I have already read it and made some small additions—on the campaign against organized crime, and a coordinative committee on this issue will be set up, which I will head. In this way the prime minister will be in charge of the question connected with socioeconomic issues, and I will be in charge of the question connected with crime, the campaign against crime.

But so that all of this is coordinated, I have directly subordinated the government to myself, and I do not see great complications in this. For it is about resolving those problems, which trouble people and which are often spoken about in the Supreme Council. I do not think that these are issues around which one needs to expend effort. Everyone needs to work now. I support those deputies who call for this very approach to work, so that each one deals with his affairs, and coordinates and cooperates.

[Correspondent in Spanish, fading into Ukrainian translation] The decision on holding a referendum did not stop the strike. The strikers demand that pre-term elections be held and regional self-government be granted. Will you insist that these demands be fulfilled?

[Kravchuk] The thing is that I submitted such propositions to the Supreme Council knowing that it is constitutional, in general, because the Supreme Council can adopt a decision on pre-term elections. The Supreme Council can also adopt a decision on a referendum. However, according to the Constitution, it is necessary that 3 million signatures be collected. As it was difficult for the Supreme Council to do, I think in this case it decided to reach a compromise. The Supreme Council decided to hold an opinion poll because it is written in the law on this referendum—on holding referendums—here is what it says, I will simply read it to you—this

Article 46. Here is what is called a deliberative opinion poll of citizens—a consultative referendum. I will read this article in full—well, not in full but the part that concerns a referendum: With the purpose of establishing the will of citizens when settling important issues of general state and local significance, all Ukrainian and local deliberative opinion polls of citizens of Ukraine—consultative referendums—may be held according to the procedure envisaged by this law. Results of the deliberative opinion poll are examined and taken into account when decisions are adopted by relevant state bodies; that is, it is a deliberative referendum. Therefore later on it will be difficult with legal consequences of the referendum. The Constitution does not envisage legal consequences. The Supreme Council, however, has the right to hold such an opinion poll, although here it has not been established whether or not this right concerns the Supreme Council and the president because in Article 13 of the same law, issues on which a referendum may be held are stated: issues of approving or abolishing constitutional and other legislative acts which, according to this law, may be submitted to an all-Ukrainian referendum, with the exception of issues of pre-term suspension of powers of the Supreme Council and the president, if no less than half of the people's deputies demand that this be done. Again, this is not stated there because as far as both the Supreme Council and the president are concerned, 3 million signatures have to be collected. However the Supreme Council can set pre-term elections with regard to itself. I proposed to set the elections and hold the referendum on pre-term suspension of powers of the president, but during this time not 3 million but as many as 10 million signatures could be collected for this purpose [word indistinct]; this is not a problem. The term could be determined and everything would be within the limits of the Constitution, as it were. Even the Constitution could be changed. Let us say the Supreme Council sets a referendum of pre-term suspension of powers of the president on the basis of its own initiative. In such a case an addition has to be made here: In the event, as a result of a referendum, confidence in the president is expressed then the president dissolves the Supreme Council. This is how it is in the whole world—counterbalances. Well, it was difficult for us to find something, well, constructive, and the Supreme Council found a compromise. I believe that this resolution of the Supreme Council is a certain compromise. I instructed lawyers and asked the Law Institute to give some interpretation on how we will be getting out of this situation after the referendum, after the opinion poll—this consultative referendum. As far as strikes are concerned, you know, I am for settling all issues in the process of work. Moreover, we have been bled white, and, trust me, this visit for a meeting and talks—these strikes were hanging over us and we were a little exhausted politically—however. I said this yesterday and I want to stress it today: Russia did not take advantage of this and did not put before Ukraine any other ideas and propositions apart from those that were already outlined in Dagomys, in Yalta, and during other talks. This is true.

[Correspondent, in Russian] The "Philosophical and Sociological Thought" magazine program of the Russian service of Radio Liberty. Esteemed Mr. President: Let us assume that the referendum will take place on 26 September. Let us assume that its results, as far as you are concerned, will be negative. Will it mean your resignation? Thank you.

[Kravchuk] You know, if this means my personal resignation, then I can do it tomorrow, without a referendum. I do not need either a referendum or a poll to do this. Proceeding from the constitution then, so as to—the Supreme Council cannot dismiss the president on its own. There is the first [pauses] it is written in the Constitution that if the president infringes on the Constitution or the law, then on the basis of a conclusion made by a constitutional court the Supreme Council impeaches the president and it can dismiss him by a two-thirds majority, but this is not the case. This is only true in the event the Constitution and the law are infringed upon, and when there is a conclusion by a constitutional court. We simply do not have such a court. Although they blame me, usually indirectly, I often hear such accusations in speeches: the president is to blame for the fact that we failed to elect a constitutional court. I did not vote for the members of the constitutional court. Where is my guilt? Ivan Stepanovych Plyushch and I agreed on the candidacies and together we submitted them for the consideration of the Supreme Council. We did that together. Later on they started to find out who was submitting whom so that they could vote correspondingly. They failed to vote. So, now I think all the time: where is my guilt? Am I to blame because the Supreme Council failed to vote? If I am so omnipotent that I can rule the Supreme Council; this is not so. As a matter of fact, there are different problems here, problems connected with the fact that the political and economic situation in Ukraine is complicated. This is reflected in the Supreme Council, and it is difficult for the deputies to tackle such complicated issues. I understand this quite well.

Therefore, this second question which you have posed: What does it mean to me? I will myself decide on what it will mean to me. Can the Supreme Council make a decision proceeding from this? No, it cannot. In other words, this will concern me personally. Either I will act accordingly, or I will demand that the Supreme Council should act in compliance with the Constitution. Such is the situation as it is.

[Correspondent] Ukrainian television. Leonid Makarovych: Could you please say on which principles the Russian fleet bases will exist, if they are located in Sevastopol and other cities on the territory of Ukraine? One more question, please. Do you believe that the strike was prepared before it got under way, before prices rose?

[Kravchuk] I would like to specify the first question: there was no talk about the bases of the Russian fleet. The talk was about the joint use of the fleet bases. The

fleet is to be divided and what is located on our Ukrainian soil will be used jointly during the transitional period. If the talk were about the bases of the Russian fleet there would be a different legal interpretation. It would be a matter of either a rent or something else. There was no talk about that. We did not raise such a question. Therefore, this is a matter of the joint use of infrastructures on Ukrainian soil by the Russian fleet and the Ukrainian fleet during the transitional period.

You know, I have no documents which would prove that this strike was prepared beforehand. I do not have such documents. After these sharp debates, in parliament included, I have already made an attempt for myself to find out, not just as a probability, or as some kind of a forecast, or something else, but to find out whether there are documents proving whether the strike was prepared in advance or not. I did not get any such documents. Therefore, having no documented confirmation, I cannot make any such statements or accusations.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, a no-confidence referendum or a poll on no confidence or on confidence in the Supreme Council or in the president means that the ratification of START I and the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons may be postponed for at least a year. What are you going to do about this situation?

[Kravchuk] Why does it have to be postponed? I do not think that deputies and the president are so weak-willed that they would not be doing anything as soon as the referendum has been announced, that they would not even be able to press a button. I believe that everyone has to bear political and other kinds of responsibility until one's powers have expired—and, maybe, have an even greater responsibility at this time. I don't want us to treat this as if we are faced with a referendum that would mean ending the government, state, or legislative activity. This would simply be impossible, and I can never believe this, that is, I think on the contrary the responsibility will increase and the activeness of all government structures will increase considerably just because, maybe, someone will still try to prove that he is still capable of doing something.

[Correspondent] RESPUBLICA information agency. Could you comment on a—probably careless—statement by Supreme Council Chairman Chairman Plyushch that we do not have a power crisis? A very brief question: What is the reason for Mr. Yemelyanov's resignation and who will replace him as adviser?

[Kravchuk] Well, this question about the statement by Ivan Stepanovych regarding the fact that we do not have a power crisis is as ancient as the world. I frankly said and am saying now without defending Ivan Stepanovych that he had reasons for saying this because, really, there is no extraordinary power crisis. Well, how did the session end? The president received constitutional powers, and the government and parliament received constitutional powers. What happened? Everyone received their powers according to the Constitution. As Supreme Council chairman, he said absolutely correctly that nothing had happened. The thing is that if you look at the crisis in a broad sense—Ivan Stepanovych spoke about the results of the sitting and he is 100 percent right. If one looks at it in a broad plane then there is not only a power crisis—there is a crisis of economy, spirituality—the crisis is everywhere, because a transition to another structure of living, thinking, and governing is taking place. This is difficult and the crisis phenomena are taking place everywhere. They really do exist in the government, both in localities and in the center. There is a relevant struggle and a tug-of-war of powers is going on. In this respect a crisis exists, but not only a power crisis. There is a crisis of society—trust me. Well, there can be no such thing. Society is moving and there is crisis in it, but, you see, there is no crisis in the power structure or anywhere else specific—it exists everywhere.

[Correspondent] Now about Yemelyanov's resignation.

[Kravchuk] First, it is not a resignation—Yemelyanov submitted an application to leave in connection with his retirement, but this is not the point. The point is that this decree, which I signed, on urgent measures on governing the economy in this situation and the fact that I wrote that I assume direct control of the government—accordingly, I want to create a (?unified) government structure so that there is no situation whereby there is one group of people in the cabinet of ministers and some similarity [paralelism] in the president's administration. Only those structures which already [words indistinct] the president. For instance: pardoning, citizenship—well, there is a whole number of similar issues and all other economic ones—they will already be common [as heard]. Even if one takes an ideal situation, some conflicts arise without fail. This is also connected with concentrating both plenary [povnovazhnu] and administrative powers in the work in the most important directions.

[Correspondent] INTERFAX (?correspondent). Mr. President, your general attitude to issues of regional autonomy is known. However, two events took place this week—I mean the decision of Donetsk Oblast Council on carrying out the economic and legal experiment in Donetsk—Krivoy Rog basin—and the decision of the Supreme Council of the Crimea on the system of open economy which envisages a separate tax, customs, and finance policy. Do you not think that the economic independence of the regions may be followed by a political one? In any case, there may be a demand for that. What is your attitude to these two documents?

[Kravchuk] I am a supporter of the broadest economic independence of the regions. These are not simply words. We already had a meeting in this hall with four oblasts and discussed reciprocal action of the four oblasts and their political and economic structures in questions of emerging from the economic crisis. I said I supported all economic demands which concern broadening economic powers of the regions, and I have no

reasons to fear what the Supreme Council of the Crimea has adopted. Moreover, the Crimea at present is an autonomous republic which is part of Ukraine and it can adopt relevant decisions within the limits of the legislation and the Constitution of Ukraine and the Crimea and the law on demarcation of powers. The issue here is that laws have to be complied with. As far as what the Donetsk Oblast Council has adopted is concerned—well, this has to be studied. I have not familiarized myself with it in detail—I only have the decisions and I do not have any minutes, speeches, or arguments so far. However, if the issue is economic independence, again, in questions determined by the legislation—well, why not grant it? Why do matters necessarily have to be settled in Kiev if they can be settled in Donetsk itself? Why not grant the possibility of the broadest activity regarding the sale of products? After all we must learn that there is one scheme during the transition to the market: produce, sell, and earn. Therefore if people want to produce more they have to be given the opportunity to sell more freely and without obstacles. Then they will earn more and the state will have more maney coming into the budget. I support this and will support it not only for Donetsk but also for other regions—for Trans- Carpathia and for other areas if a need for it arises—and it is arising already.

[Correspondent Levytska] I am Levytska from the Information and Analytical Service of the Congress of the National Democratic Forces. I have the following question: From the very beginning your representatives in the southeastern oblasts of Ukraine and also in the Crimea were not very concerned about developing an independent Ukrainian state, to put it mildly. In connection with this there is the following question: When will you finally take steps for them to become statesmen? Thank you.

[Kravchuk] Well, I can expand on this question a little to make the essence and my answer more clear. Any desire becomes reality if it is supported by real forces; that is, if there are forces that resolutely support statehood in an oblast or rayon or town then a presidential representative has someone to rely on. If he then does not want this statehood—against the background of the basis on which he is working his actions and his stand become fully known to everyone. For instance, we have such radical forces which often call for [Kravchuk pauses] Why, they say, are you acting so hesitantly in Sevastopol? They even hint that, as they say, someone could have already put in a little bit of order, or strength could be shown, and so forth. Well, I think that people who have never been there are saying this. If the Black Sea were near Lvov, maybe, there would be a different situation there; but it is near Sevastopol. The overwhelming majority of people in Sevastopol—I will say this without exaggeration—Sevastopol became a place to which year after year admirals and generals from all fleets of the former Soviet Union would go to retire. There are more than 60,000 such people there at present and you can imagine their stand. However, that is not all. All the rest are connected to defense enterprises working for the fleet. They understand, these people, that they would be unemployed if the fleet ceased to exist. Everything requires a realistic analysis. Therefore I would like you also to look at the situation not in a simple way, as if they were my wishes or someone else's, but in order to find out what the real possibilities are at present. I think that the most important task for us at present, I repeat, the most important task, is not to allow confrontation with the use of force in any region. Confrontation with the use of force will be the beginning, one can say this with confidence, of the death of the state. Here the radicals must understand that the issue is not that someone cannot show will or character. The issue is that we ought to be guided by intellect. I want to stress once again that I will never take a single step, no matter who demands this of me, if I know exactly that following this step there will inevitably be confrontation involving the use of force. I will not take a single step if I know that following this step there will inevitably be confrontation between Russia and Ukraine. All of this, both the first and the second, would mean the end of the statehood of our Ukraine.

[Announcer] First microphone.

[Correspondent] AP, UKRAINIAN WEEKLY. Mr. President, two weeks are left until the end of the parliamentary session. Many problems have accumulated, not only of domestic policy, but also of foreign policy. In meetings with U.S. and German leaders you hinted that START I would be ratified before the end of this session. Please tell me what efforts you will exert so that parliament does this. In addition on this same subject I would like to ask whether at your meeting with President Yeltsin you spoke about the pressure, which Minister Grachev put on Ukraine during the visit of Les Aspin. Thank you.

[Kravchuk] First, I have no precise data that the Supreme Council has only two weeks left for its work. Even if this was said somewhere, the Supreme Council may reconsider this issue. This is not a constitution. The Supreme Council may make a decision on a special regime of work, i.e. such work, such a regime, during which the deputies assemble at any time if need be. By the way, I understood from the speeches by certain deputies today that they are ready for this. Therefore, the documents are being finalized. It seems to me that the main remarks that were made have already been introduced. At any time, the Supreme Council may submit this issue for ratification.

We did not stir up any broad discussion concerning pressure upon Ukraine on the part of some Russian structures, specific, directly named structures, although conceptually we agreed with Boris Yeltsin and with the delegation of Russia. We spoke frankly about this, that we would like a qualitatively new stage of relations between Ukraine and Russia to be linked to this visit. We were sincerely saying that somewhere someone was too hasty, that somewhere someone failed to understand somebody, that somewhere someone failed to understand our Ukrainian mentality, our Ukrainian pain, that the great nation, the nation with historic roots, its own

great history and culture, actually never had a state. When we proclaimed independence, when we voted in favor of statehood, we really perceived this as something our grandparents, whose labor—grandparents, great-grandparents, etc.—had been trying to achieve throughout centuries, possibly, even without understanding this.

Of course, we wanted to do everything quickly and efficiently. We did not take something into account. But I was saying that in this difficult time Russia did not always understand us accurately, as far as our striving is concerned, purely human, spiritual, lofty striving. Instead of understanding this, that for us statehood and independence, all this is interconnected.... [incomplete sentence as heard] No such problems ever faced Russia, the Russians, because Russia always had its statehood. Instead of supporting us and helping us, they sometimes failed to do this and we... [incomplete sentence as heard] I said this sincerely and I will say this to you—that I would very much like for this period of elapsed time to teach both us and the Russians, to teach everything, so that Russian democrats understand this better.

Proceeding from this, from the interaction of two great nations, the two great states, because they are neighbors and any—Believe me, I say this and repeat this all the time, I say this not only today but on any occasion when I speak—that such neighbors and such a great state as Russia, and all our existing relations, they can live and build a state, both Ukraine and Russia, in friendship and interaction only.

Another approach, I repeat this,—I will not say this about Russia; I will say this about Ukraine plainly—means danger for Ukraine, as far as the preservation of its state is concerned. Danger. History must finally teach us something. It must teach everyone. Now you can hear some wishing to immediately demonstrate their nonexistent strength, others want to bend close to the ground so they cannot be seen, and still others do not know what they want. They just want something and that's it.

[Announcer] Second microphone please.

[Correspondent Kudrin] Mykhaylo Kudrin (ER-PRESS), Moscow. My question is connected with your reply. You said that one of the issues which was discussed in Zavidovo yesterday was the issue of our strategic missiles and security guarantees on the part of Russia. I would like to know whether you agree with the thesis that, I quote the appeal by 162 deputies, (?without the confirmation of) Ukraine's status as a possessor of the nuclear weapons located on its territory, the Supreme Council cannot begin its final examination of the START I Treaty and that nuclear weapons are not, after all, the best guarantee of our security.

[Kravchuk] Of course, the larger the mace, the harder it hits. There is no doubt about it, but there is one more detail: only a very strong person can lift a large mace. This is why I was saying and am saying to you now about nuclear weapons, especially START I: 130 liquid fuel missiles must be destroyed. They already require exactly such an approach: 130 missiles on liquid fuel.

The very fact that Russia admitted it will reimburse us for the nuclear components means that this is the property of Ukraine. Because they reimburse us not just for the sake of doing it, but because they are reimbursing for property. This is why this issue should be divided into parts.

One cannot just say that if you have nuclear weapons you have strength. First, there is a whole range of problems: the ability to service nuclear weapons. It is not by chance that we appeal to Russia with a request for help. As I already said, and we agreed on this, on a guarantee for servicing of these components of nuclear missile complexes that were manufactured by Russian enterprises. As far as the 130 missiles and these nuclear components are concerned, they were manufactured in Arzamas. The key to everything is there. So, we are unable to provide their servicing.

So, it is clear that they must be destroyed and the treaty must be ratified. Because there can be no euphoria, believe me. There can be no euphoria. We are talking about very serious matters. What we can do, we can do; and what we can't do, we cannot; and we should not even set about doing it. If someone tries, he may do evil, bring additional problems. In other words, I would split this issue into parts.

I could say that nuclear weapons are a protection for Ukraine, although—and I repeat this—I support the idea that nuclear weapons today are not a guarantee of saving mankind. They are not. And the sooner mankind understands that they must be destroyed, in all countries of the world, the more mankind benefits from this. Today this issue... [pauses] If I were saying that Ukraine manufactures all the nuclear weapon components—carriers, warheads, and control systems—and is capable of servicing and replacing them, then these would be nuclear weapons, but if we cannot do this, this is only some part of what you are talking about.

[Announcer] Third microphone please.

[Correspondent] Volodymyr [last name indistinct], HOLOS UKRAYINY. Leonid Makarovych, insofar as you have volunteered to be the coordinator in the campaign against organized crime, then the question is about this too. Our National Bank has for some time now been carrying out the financial policy of our state under the slogan: No coupons. This can be seen everywhere; that is, dollars are not changed, rubles are not changed, nothing is changed, while those structures are doing all of this. Then, playing on the lowered exchange rate, they come to the banks and take coupons into cash circulation, which is not controlled by the state. The sums involved are billions. So I would like to ask, is the National Bank incapable of carrying out national policy, or is this after all organized crime, which has already caught up with the National Bank. Thank you.

[Kravchuk] I can give you an answer to this question when the coordinating committee begins its work, when we look into all of this, and we have the relevant documents. To cast a shadow on the National Bank and its leadership—I have an attitude of respect to the chairman of the National Bank. He is a qualified person; he only started in his post recently and is applying efforts to put right the new banking system in Ukraine, a structure, accounts of a varied, a new, approach in this matter; that is, he is a modern person.

Insofar as all of this is connected with the commercial banks as well, with this very complex banking system—incidentally appropriate specialists will be needed there too to appraise this in detail because it is not so simple—people will be needed who know this system; time is needed for this.

Although I know that this problem of exchange rates, the exchange rate of the coupon to the dollar, the karbovantets to the ruble, commercial exchange rates, interest rates—I have already taken some steps in this direction. I have issued an appropriate decree. Now, however, we are going to set up appropriate groups under this committee. For example, a group that will be engaged only in financial and banking transactions. A group that will be engaged in, for example, these various shadowy problems; that is, we have such policies already, which have already shed some light on the matter, but not completely yet. We will need time, especially for me as coordinator, in order to study all of these issues in detail.

[Announcer] First microphone please.

[Correspondent Hnatyshyn] Oleksandr Hnatyshyn, REUTERS. Mr. President, as far as we know, during discussion of the issue of the ratification of START at the Supreme Council session, Ivan Plyushch, Leonid Kuchma, and a significant number of deputies favored ratifying START, but not for ratifying the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. What is your point of view on this? Did you not change it during the discussion? What is your view on those 46 missiles, SS-24's which, so to speak, are on our territory? A second question, if that is possible, on the matter of the strikes. The strikers have recently been talking about ultimatums. In spite of the Supreme Council's having adopted a decision on a referendum, they have said that they would continue the strike until new elections are held and economic decisions are adopted. What will your personal steps be if they do not stop the strike?

[Kravchuk] Well I have not changed my mind because I presented the documents to the Supreme Council in a package. Incidentally, the government also presented a written address to the Supreme Council on this issue in which it proposed that the documents be adopted as a package. There can be discussion of reservations, of time; this is possible, but I believe they need to be adopted as a package. I repeat that I presented it in this way to the Supreme Council, and the government presented in this way in written form and expressed this position to the Supreme Council; that is, in this case the president's position, the government's position, and the position of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs are identical.

You mention speeches in parliament. Well you know, speeches and proposals, written ones, which are grounded in analysis, do not after all always coincide. There can be reflections, and there can be doubts. I do not see any problems in this, especially when grounds for reflections and doubts naturally do exist. This is indisputable. Up to now those questions or those obligations—I would not even want to use such a word—which have already arisen have not been finally implemented for Ukraine, both regarding guarantees and regarding dismantling.

Well, take this problem: We do not have any money in the coffers; everyone knows this well. How are we going to dismantle the nuclear complex? (?There is) another problem. You journalists probably know about this: the dismantling of the complex (?or) the missile silos. This is in fact, roughly speaking, the dismantling of three components—the nuclear warhead, the carrier, and the silo itself. According to START I, it says in the protocol that silos are to be blown up. According to START II, however, it is written that they may be filled with concrete five metres (?deep). Blowing them up is not suitable for Ukraine, because they are in densely populated areas here. This means that this clause in START II should be transferred to START I regarding silos in Ukraine.

These are purely technical problems, organizational problems, economic ones, financial ones, and problems of guarantees. Can one really, as was often wanted in this way when someone fancies something—excuse my language—and then Ukraine assembles tomorrow, and there and then votes on whatever someone says. [sentence as heard] Well, this is not serious.

The talk is about very difficult things. They should be studied in detail. There is no need to grumble too much about someone, or rail against someone. There is also no need to put pressure on us, all things told. The whole of history has shown that as soon as there is pressure, then there is counteraction immediately. Well, Ukraine is a large state, believe me, 54 million people. Why should we have to say bless you to every sneeze? We will do what is proper, but we will do it without fail.

What was the other thing? [announcer reminds Kravchuk about second part of question]

You know, if one is to reply in one sentence; if one is to proceed from those demands that the strike will continue until there are new elections and autonomy is granted, then I think that after some time it will not be needed as such; that is, he is saying, as the ancients once said, it will cease to exist because it is not wanted. Everything will stop.

Autonomy will then not be needed by anyone, including the Donetsk region. If the metallurgical industry, which

is a leading one in this region, ceases to exist, other industries will cease too. Then what will autonomy give? Surely not just moral pleasure? There will not be anything to work at then.

So for some reason I think that the strikers understand all of this. I had a conversation on the telephone with them, and I believed that they understood their responsibility and will understand it even better when they analyze the whole situation, even in their region. I believe that on the basis of this understanding they will start work. We will correspondingly act in order to satisfy all the possibilities for which there are realistic foundations, not simply—realistic foundations, a realistic basis. If there is no realistic basis, there is nothing to talk about here.

In the political area we will also adopt considered decisions. The problem is broader here. For the constant pressure will not allow power structures to work. Here there is a danger. I would like the strikers to understand that constant pressure on power—if power is going to be in a, well, amorphous state, when it does not stand firmly on its feet—will mean that it will not be able to carry out its functions fully. This will affect management, especially at this time of crisis.

[Correspondent] Maystrenko Oleg, RUKHPRESS. Do you acknowledge as correct the assertions of the miners in opposition to the effect that the current crisis in the state was caused not only by the Supreme Council, which has gone bankrupt, but by your reactionary policy as well, your resistance to the reforms, in that you relied on neo-communist nomenclature? Second, do we not lose part of our territorial sovereignty if the Russian fleet is located on our territory? If we do not, why should Ukraine not raise the question of dividing shore-based structures, say, in Novorossiysk? Thank you.

[Kravchuk] Well, the miners have their opinion, and it is their right to have it. I would not like to engage in polemics with the strikers because this should not be done. They declare their stand, and we must take this stand into consideration. As for the fact that the reforms are not progressing, that is my fault, the Supreme Council's fault, and everybody's fault. Take, for example, the law on privatization of land. It has not been passed. Is it possible to carry out reforms if this main issue is not resolved? Even the law on privatization, on all related aspects, is not being tackled. In other words, there is resistance to the reforms, and again, one should not talk about the Supreme Council. It so happens that today, the face of the Supreme Council, just as it was in the very beginning, is again defined by the extreme left and extreme right. It is they who hamper the work of the Supreme Council. Believe me, it is they who hamper the work because they always create a situation, in the beginning, that deprives the deputies of the possibility to analyze. I have good relations with the deputies, with the Supreme Council; I began with it. I saw that this was the case earlier too and again we came to this point. So I do not want to generalize; I can speak about the extreme left and extreme right.

Today, unfortunately, they play the leading part, and that part of the deputies who would like to is incapable of concentrating and doing important work, adopting laws necessary for the people, disregarding these shrieks by the right-wingers and the left- wingers. I also look at myself and all that I could do. I probably did not do everything in order to help the reforms continue, but here, now, when I received these plenary powers, and again, they returned them to me. I began to act more resolutely, from my point of view. I am again afraid of being blocked by this rightist and leftist opposition at the Supreme Council, by its conclusions and attempts to sow doubts concerning the importance and significance of these documents. In other words, it should be said—it seems to me and I already said this at the Supreme Council—that the Supreme Council and the president and the government were formed and directed by their actions during the transitional period. We all must have enough courage to acknowledge this and to acknowledge the necessity of either acting decisively, thus proving that we changed over to a new qualitative state and understanding of their actions or leaving if we do not have enough of that determination or enough possibilities. This is an honest stand before the people. I stand for this.

[Correspondent reminds Kravchuk that the second question dealt with Ukraine's territorial integrity]

First, no one passed to anyone either land in Sevastopol to be added to the Russian territory or any bases. We agreed on a joint use of these bases, as I have already said. It is impossible to pose the question so as to compare, say, Novorossiysk or the Baltic fleet and the Pacific fleet with the Black Sea fleet. It is necessary to turn to history—the history of the former union, the history of the Crimea, and the history of Ukraine—and to interconnect all this. I am convinced that we shall resolve this issue, and every state will have all its armed forces and a complete fleet, etc. Yet today, when I want and you do not, but you are stronger than me, what am I to do? Run around saying I will beat you up? Therefore, I would like us to understand all this and not to make reckless moves. I have devoted all of my mature years to studying political and historic literature, and I can say with all responsibility that we were losing our statehood and our independence, or failed to win it, due to two reasons: we did not consider our real possibilities or we failed to get united at a decisive time. What is happening now in the country is a vivid example. Even the democrats—sorry for this word, this is how I call them conventionally—have already split into groups, and I am afraid they will soon begin pulling each other's hair to give each other a headache.

[Palchyk] I am Yakym Palchyk, editor in chief of UKRAYINA magazine. Esteemed Leonid Makarovych, only the intellect of the nation can implement reforms in Ukraine or help Ukraine out of the crisis. This intellect is

nourished by science, education, culture, art, journalism, book-printing, and so forth. At present, all this is suppressed in Ukraine—to put it mildly or in quotation marks. From your point of view, when will this pressure disappear? I mean the high price of paper, its absence, and so forth.

[Kravchuk] The high price of paper will disappear when we start producing it ourselves, because we do not produce it now and have to buy it. The prices are not established by us but by those from whom we buy. This is an existing reality and there is nothing new here, but the fact remains a fact. Science, culture, and education are branches that can function or work actively only if they have state support. This support must be in the form of not just words but money. The state must create conditions for their work, but if you look at the present economic situation it gives an answer to these questions. We have laws that have been adopted that from my point of view, more or less, let us say, take into account the significance of education, culture, and science. Unfortunately though, we cannot ensure this with economic capabilities, although we understand that we are causing misfortune, but if it is not possible to give from the budget at present, other ways have to be found. As far as the policy and the attitude is concerned, they remain unchanged.

One more round and that is it.

[Tykhyy] I am Serhiy Tykhyy, UNIAN information agency and MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI newspaper. Esteemed Mr. President, as is known, the division of the fleet, according to the Yalta agreement, was planned [word indistinct] the year 1996. First, does the new agreement signed yesterday mean that the Sevastopol agreement ceases to exist? And, second, you talked today about the joint use of the fleet's infrastructure in Sevastopol and in Ukraine in general. From the experience of last year it is known that the joint command of the fleet turned out to be not such a simple thing and, generally speaking, collapsed. Do you not fear that the same thing will happen with joint use of the base?

[Kravchuk] We have not departed from the Yalta agreements. In the Yalta agreements, if you read them carefully, it was not specified that the division of the fleet would begin in 1995. You will not find such a sentence there. It was interpreted—we did it in one way, the Russian side in another way, and inhabitants of Sevastopol in yet another way. However, the actual wording in Yalta was that we agreed on the division of the fleet. Well, now we have agreed on beginning the division of the fleet; that is, in order not to postpone the division for an indefinite period of time, we agreed that the division will start in September because the fleet cannot stay in such state—it is either united or divided. And you are correct in saying that under joint command and joint other things some will fly Ukrainian flags, others Russian ones, and there will never be an end to it. That is why the fleet has to be divided. Moreover, the 50 percent of the fleet that Ukraine will receive—I am not talking about its quality but its quantity—is absolutely sufficient for us to maintain it. And I repeat, these ships are fairly old, and even this latest one—Moskva cruiser—is also at the point of collapse. There is another thing that can be discussed: a constant renewal of the fleet, launching new ships, modern ships, but while there is going to be a division, it is clear that it is simply impossible to divide these bases—their use and control—immediately. One has to divide the fleet first and then see how they will be used and on what basis; this is already the next agreement as far as use is concerned. At present, only the division of the fleet is discussed.

[Dmytrychenko] Serhiy Dmytrychenko, UKRAYINA MOLODA [YOUNG UKRAINE] newspaper. Mr. President I would like you to explain more specifically—because there are various interpretations—whether the talks examined the entire complex of what is called the Black Sea Fleet—whether it is on the territory of Ukraine or in other states—or only the part that is situated on the territory of Ukraine? The second question concerns your decree on setting up an extraordinary committee. The words extraordinary committee are somewhat similar to the law on the emergency situation. This means restricting some rights and freedoms of citizens. Is this planned and are these things connected?

[Kravchuk] What we discussed was the division of the Black Sea Fleet as a whole—the fleet, not the ships. People often think that when the division is discussed only the ships are meant. Ships are not a fleet yet—a fleet is a complex. We discussed the division of the fleet without imposing geographical restrictions. The Black Sea Fleet—that is, all ships and all structures—is taken as a complex and divided 50-50, that is so. Now then, as far as the committee is concerned, no, it is, first of all, only for issues of managing social and economic life—social and economic. That is, the issue here is not political and legal things, freedoms of citizens, or infringements of any rights. The issue here is only the system that has developed. Discussed for instance was the problem with banks; problems of some corruption or other; the speed of settling issues connected to external economic activity and various complex processes; rendering urgent help in such cases as can happen both in the countryside and when there is now harvesting and everything else. [sentence as heard] This means that the committee should work in an extraordinary mode—that is, the issue is not extraordinary powers but an extraordinary mode of work—where there is efficient analysis, help, and settlement of issues.

Part of the government should be focused precisely on this. Another part of the government, under the leadership of the president, will focus, mainly—I have already told you, haven't I?—on issues of fighting crime. Therefore, taking into account the difficulty that one person at present cannot embrace all aspects—those ones and those and those—these are not the times when we can wait for a month until an issue is settled. If it is received today in the morning, it has to be settled by lunch time. Therefore, even at this human level, we divided our

spheres of powers between myself and the prime minister. Therefore, one should not read anything into it, as if, you know, there is something behind it. Probably everyone in Ukraine got scared of the SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency] at that time and has been trembling until now without being able to recover their senses. There is nothing in common here. I have already simply told you in detail what it is.

[Unidentified correspondent] Esteemed Leonid Makarovych: There is a country that is in even greater economic difficulty than we are, but for more than three years now it has been receiving our children, improving their health, and providing medical treatment to them. What I have in mind is Cuba. It allocated its best young pioneer camp—a kind of Artek [young pioneer camp in the Crimea]—for our children, actually at the expense of its own children. I have just returned from there, and I saw how much affection and warmth the Cuban people give to our boys and girls, but at the same time, it is painful that this good cause has not become the cause of our entire state. It only rests on a youth relief fund. I would like to ask: Although one cannot compare us with Cuba, couldn't we really help that country at least in some ways? This country that recently suffered great misfortune—we all know about this—couldn't we render any assistance to that country? Couldn't we provide our children, who have been there for more than three years now, with food at least? In my opinion, no matter what our attitude is toward these or those politicians, we must return love to the people who give us their love. Thanks.

[Kravchuk] I share your point of view, and I am grateful—and I said this recently when I met with the Cuban minister of health—that in such a difficult time, Fidel Castro personally knows about this problem and tackles it immediately. We are grateful to the government, the president, and the people of Cuba for the fact that they treat our Chernobyl children in that manner, but I would also like to thank your fund for such large-scale work. You know, there is—not just to make excuses, definitely not—if we bring, say, the issue of one group under the jurisdiction of the state, then all must be brought. One cannot divide it, for example, so that this issue is tackled by the state and that one by the fund. Therefore, there is a problem of a different nature. Although, to consider the issue of interaction with Cuba—and we agree that we are now studying the possibilities of establishing a broader economic exchange—as far as sugar is concerned, first and foremost, and other possibilities, then we shall help by means of this interaction. As far as the help to children is concerned directly, let me give an instruction to study this issue. I cannot—I will learn how much this costs, how this is to be done. All this must be studied in detail and then I will tell you. I would like—there is one woman standing and this will be the end. You are welcome.

[Unidentified correspondent] I have a question from a group of journalists. Leonid Makarovych, please could you name the sum of the credit granted by Russia to Ukraine, and could you say to what extent the conditions of granting it differ from the conditions stipulated in the treaty signed by Shokhin and Yevtukhov? Thanks.

[Kravchuk] I would like to tell you that Ukraine now owes Russia 650 billion karbovantsi—for today. This is 650 billion karbov...[Kravchuk corrects himself] rubles. Rubles. So, the further delivery of oil and gas is connected with the credit because today we have nothing to pay with, unfortunately. The sum is being calculated, and during the meeting in Kiev on 24 June with Chernomyrdin, I think there will be a news conference and you will have an opportunity to clear up this issue precisely. I just do not know the exact figure.

As for the conditions, they are international ones, ones that exist throughout the world. I have in mind those concerning the granting of credits, terms, percentage—everything is done on an international basis. As a whole, when we were talking about economic issues, and this is not for the first time, we stressed that everything should in the long run be calculated according to world dimensions and prices. Therefore we assessed that the transition to world prices is to take place beginning 1 January next year.

However, world prices are not only for products, say, delivered from Russia, but also from Ukraine to Russia. Both transport—all kinds of transport—and everything else in world prices. In other words, by the end of the year we have to approach this stage by stage, then achieve a balance, and then consume according to this balance. We shall consume what we can pay for. The main thing is that by that time we do not deteriorate economically speaking. This is why we are here, and I personally am so worried about this strike. I am aware of the fact that it is impossible in the long run to respond to every demand of every strike by changing authority, but in this given case I support the idea that the change of authority is not only due to the strike demands, but that the authority itself, all its branches, must understand that it is the authority of a transitional period. If it were not the case, for example, and all of a sudden there was a strike, I would not react this way.

In other words, I combine this: the demands of the strikers and the realities which the authority found itself in, and its ability to cope with the problems. If it fails to do this in the future, then how is it going to hold on if it cannot do anything? Only because it wants to? Again the question of wishes and real possibilities are different things. They say you cannot always do what you want.

Thank you. I would also like to wish all of you restraint and impartiality in assessments, although it is not that easy to achieve. Goodbye.

Kuchma Blames Russia for Ukrainian Price Hikes

LD1906191493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1809 GMT 19 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow June 19 TASS—Ukrainian Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma blamed Russia for recent and future price hikes in Ukraine.

In an interview with the "ARGUMENTY I FAKTY" weekly he said that Russia is triggering price hikes in other former Soviet republics because it has to pay for expenses spent to win over supporters to the president before the April 25 confidence vote.

"The referendum should have cost a lot: they raised salaries to the military, students... Where to get the money? Prices for energy resources will be increased again", Kuchma said, adding that the latest price hikes in Ukraine which caused a major labour unrest are not the last ones.

"I am sure that in a month we shall have to raise them again", he predicted.

Kuchma also accused Russia of trying to survive alone and of conducting a policy of neglect towards former Soviet republics.

However, he greatly respects President Boris Yeltsin who "is a sober-minded politician with whom it is possible to solve any problems".

But Kuchma blasted senior officials for blocking the decisions coming from above and said the situation is characteristic of both Russia and Ukraine.

"I simply know these people who are told from above (to do) one thing, but they do another one or do not do anything at all", he said.

He also blamed republican lawmakers for borrowing western legislation which does not work in Ukraine. "They have taken over western laws, introduced them into our life and now we have to deal with that hopeless mess", he complained.

Poor legislation is one of the reasons while privatisation stalled in the country, according to Kuchma.

The prime minister said it is time for Ukraine to concentrate power in one hand. "I am for a unitary state with a tough system of power. We have matured for that", he stressed.

Morozov Informs Troops of Fleet Talks

LD1906140993 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1200 GMT 19 Jun 93

[Report by the Ukraine Defense Ministry Press Service]

[Text] At the beginning of next year Ukraine and Russia will switch to world prices in mutual payments. This was stated by President Leonid Kravchuk at a news conference on 18 June. The news conference was dedicated mainly to the results of the Russian-Ukrainian summit in Moscow.

Kravchuk also said that the division of the Black Sea Fleet is to start in September and it was stressed that it concerned the entire fleet. The president paid quite a lot of attention at the news conference to the need for preparing and signing a comprehensive political treaty between the two states.

Ukraine Defense Minister Colonel-General Kostyantyn Morozov sent a telegram to the troops which contained information about the examination of military issues at the meeting between the presidents of Ukraine and Russia. The telegram reads, in particular, that the Ukrainian president gave a new impetus to the settling of the Black Sea Fleet problem and to creating the naval forces of Ukraine. The talks in Moscow on 17 June took place in the midst of conditions that are complicated and unfavorable for Ukraine and are caused by the economic and political crisis in the state and by the decisions of the Crimean Supreme Council, which support the adherents of the idea of preserving an indivisible fleet.

In spite of that, the Ukrainian president managed to find a formula that settles the problem in the interests of Ukraine. This September we are starting practical actions concerning the division of the fleet and the formation of Ukraine's Navy. This is the main point that our president upheld repeatedly. Certainly, the economic and political situation in the Crimea and the stand of certain circles of the Crimean public considerably effected both the essence and the form of the agreements.

However, the first stage is that we have half of the fleet for setting up our naval forces. For that and also for laying the basis of the next stage, as always happens in politics, certain concessions had to be made. Our almost two-year experience, the telegram reads, shows that in order to gradually move along the path of creating own Armed Forces a peaceful situation has to be preserved in Ukraine, and this requires looking for compromises.

Commission Expresses Reservations on Free Trade With Russia

AU1806171893 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian 15 Jun 93 p 6

[Report by Petro Romanyuk, candidate of economic sciences: "On Free Trade With Russia"]

[Text] **A commission authorized to prepare a draft agreement on free trade between the governments of Ukraine and the Russian Federation held its scheduled meeting. Representatives of the Ministries of the Economy, External Economic Relations, Foreign Affairs, Transport, Justice, State Customs Committee, and Ukraine's Academy of Sciences Institute of World Economy and International Relations discussed the question of possible economic consequences of concluding an agreement on free trade.**

In his speech, the chairman of the commission—Borys Sobolyev, first deputy minister of external economic relations—pointed out that free trade is normally conducted between countries with a sufficiently high level of

development of market relations and with a corresponding saturation of the domestic market. Today, there are no such preconditions. Besides, such regulations are usually used by countries with equal (or almost equal) economic potentials and with stable currency and finance systems involving convertible monetary units. If an agreement on free trade is signed, then, given the unbalance in favor of Russia, Ukraine may be left without reliable means for protecting its domestic market. This, in the conditions of the introduction of a national currency, may lead to serious consequences.

Russia has concluded agreements on free trade with CIS member states. These agreements are largely formal in character, mainly due to the fact that they involve considerable reservations and exceptions. As follows from Decree No. 938 issued by the Government of the Russian Federation on 4 December 1992, the exceptions apply to those goods that fall under the action of the Russian legislature on export rates as well as on quotas and licenses for export. Consequently, if such an agreement is signed, this will not guarantee that Ukraine will be able to freely purchase the necessary amounts of goods and resources, because qualitative limitations and tariff barriers are not abolished. In this connection, the members of the commission exchanged opinions on the expediency of a stage-by-stage transition to establishing regulations on free trade with Russia as an important component of the common market of goods, services, and capital of the CIS.

The questions of the need to coordinate the current legislations that exist in Ukraine and in the Russian Federation on external economic activity, mutual cancellation of export duty for products of those enterprises that involve Ukrainian capital in Russia and enterprises with Russian capital in Ukraine, and the establishment, on both sides of the border, of customs-free conditions for individual groups of goods were discussed.

Butrus-Ghali Visits, Emphasizes Peacekeeping Missions

Discusses Yugoslav Situation With Plyushch

LD1806152493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1413 GMT 18 Jun 93

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Aleksey Petrunya for TASS]

[Text] Kiev June 18 TASS—Ukraine is one of the most important European countries and the United Nations ascribes much significance to developing relations with the Republic, visiting UN Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali told Ukrainian parliament Speaker Ivan Plyushch on Friday [18 June].

According to Butrus-Ghali, his visit is aimed to emphasize the important part which Ukraine plays in keeping the world peace and in developing international cooperation.

Butrus-Ghali greeted Ukraine's active participation in the efforts to solve the Yugoslav problem and emphasized that such problems had to be solved by joint effort.

Plyushch thanked Butrus-Ghali for his appreciation of Ukraine's peace-making mission.

According to him, the Yugoslav problem needs a comprehensive approach. Touching upon the UN economic sanctions, he said that they were damaging to a certain extent the interests of the states trading in the Danube region.

If the developed economies were able to cope with the problem, the weak Ukrainian economy had to struggle hard, Plyushch said.

The parties also discussed the issue of combining efforts of international bodies and primarily the United Nations in eliminating the aftermath of the Chernobyl catastrophe and the problem of Ukraine's fee to the UN.

Butrus-Ghali advised that Ukraine send forward data on the damage from the sanctions to the UN special committee on sanctions and hand over a plea for more easy terms of the fee payment to a corresponding UN commission.

Meets Kravchuk, Zhulinskiy, Zlenko

LD1806175693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1712 GMT 18 Jun 93

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Aleksey Petrunya for TASS]

[Text] Kiev, 18 Jun—UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali, who is visiting Ukraine, met President of Ukraine Leonid Kravchuk, this evening. Representatives of the press were not present for their conversation.

Also today Butrus-Ghali held conversations with the Ukrainian Deputy Prime Minister Nikolay Zhulinskiy and Foreign Affairs Minister Anatoliy Zlenko. Butrus-Ghali visited the temporary accommodation of the UN mission in Ukraine.

Zlenko Signs 'Framework Agreement'

LD1906154093 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1200 GMT 19 Jun 93

[Excerpts] UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali spoke at a plenary sitting of the Supreme Council of Ukraine. [passage omitted]

UN Secretary General Butrus Ghali met Anatoliy Zlenko, minister of foreign affairs of Ukraine, on 18 June. A so-called framework agreement between the United Nations and Ukraine was signed. After the signing, journalists asked the minister to comment on this agreement.

[Begin recording] [Zlenko] We signed a framework agreement between the United Nations and Ukraine,

which determines types of specific assistance to Ukraine with the help of various international organizations, and above all through the UN development program. That is, the United Nations can now render specific economic assistance to Ukraine in accordance with the relevant statements and declarations.

[Unidentified reporter] Was there (?anything specific) regarding compensation to Ukraine for losses connected with (?former Yugoslavia)?

[Zlenko] This (?issue) was discussed in parliament. This issue was (?raised) by the chairman of the Supreme Council. This issue was directly raised today by the secretary general when he addressed our parliamentarians, and it was the subject of special attention at my meeting with the UN secretary general.

[Reporter] And what were the results? What is (?your) attitude to this?

[Zlenko] Our attitude is that we have already (?submitted) documentation. We now have to submit additional documentation. We think that we have to raise this issue at a regular session of the UN General Assembly.

[Reporter] Mr. Butrus Ghali said that some other regions, not only in Yugoslavia, are awaiting Ukrainian troops.

[Zlenko] I would like to say this. The general secretary raised this issue again this time. He raised this issue at my talks with him just now. He considers that we have possibilities. And it will (?serve) Ukraine's authority when our batallion in the UN peacekeeping forces takes part in various regions. And in particular the need to send such a battalion to Somalia was mentioned. Well, naturally the Supreme Council should resolve this issue. This is not the first time this issue has been put to us. We are familiar with this issue. I naturally think that this issue should be studied very thoroughly by the Supreme Council. [end recording]

Expresses Satisfaction With Visit

LD1906193393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1354 GMT 19 Jun 93

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Aleksey Petrunya for TASS]

[Text] Kiev June 19 TASS—UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali said he is satisfied with his Ukrainian visit and that the objective of boosting political, economic, scientific and cultural relations with Ukraine has been reached.

Butrus-Ghali said at a press conference on Saturday that the Ukrainian leadership promised to consider his request about more active participation in UN peacekeeping operations, including in Somalia. However, the final decision on the issue is to be made by the Ukrainian Parliament.

He added that Ukraine pledged to boost its participation in all spheres of activity of the United Nations.

Butrus-Ghali thanked the Ukrainian leadership for peace-keeping activities in former Yugoslavia and expressed condolences over the death of four Ukrainian peace-keepers in Sarajevo.

The UN secretary general promised that the United Nations will soon consider the issue of assistance in eliminating the aftermath of the Chernobyl nuclear accident in Ukraine.

Butrus-Ghali said he would welcome Ukrainian ratification of the START-1 and the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaties.

Commentary Criticizes U.S., FRG Security Positions

AU1806173293 Kiev NARODNA HAZETA in Ukrainian No. 23 (104), Jun 93 p 2

[O. Redchenko commentary: "Guarantees Are in Short Supply"]

[Text] Last week was rich in events. Federal Chancellor of the FRG H. Kohl and U.S. Secretary of Defense L. Aspin paid visits to Ukraine. Even though a joint Ukraine-U.S. charter on partnership and friendship is being prepared, the U.S. defense secretary did not propose any specific mechanisms for assisting Ukraine in the case of open economic blackmail or military aggression. U.S. "guarantees" are limited to the possibility of holding urgent bilateral consultations between the United States and Ukraine with the involvement of the UN Security Council. Such a position is quite typical of the United States, if one takes into consideration THE WASHINGTON POST's information to the effect that during the recent visit to Kiev of U.S. ambassador for special missions Talbott, he avoided the words "security guarantees," which might be understood as an obligation to defend Ukrainian territory in the case of an external aggression, something that is envisaged, for example, by NATO. Such an obligation, the American newspaper points out, would make impossible further diplomatic cooperation between the United States and Russia in the sphere of problems of worldwide security. Nor did Talbott reciprocate Ukraine's interest in resolving this problem through a multilateral agreement similar to that concluded in 1955 between the United States and the USSR on guaranteeing the independence and neutrality of Austria....

It is well known from history that Germany always had special interest in Ukraine. However, the visit by the FRG chancellor, who arrived in Kiev in order to promote mutual relations between the two states, has shown that, in the sphere of guaranteeing our security, the position of Germany differs little from those of other leading Western countries. Well, perhaps the proposal to "put in a word" for Ukraine with Tokyo this week and to

be conducive to opening the European market for Ukrainian goods indicates that Bonn does not mind playing the role of our "patron." However, all of this, certainly, provided that Kiev ratifies the agreements on nuclear weapons as soon as possible. [President] Leonid Kravchuk was also invited to visit Germany... in a year's time, when there will be what to report about....

The chancellor's attempts to inspire us by the example of Germany's "nuclear-free status" cannot but inspire our return question: Is the nuclear-free FRG threatened by the nuclear United States or France?

National Affairs

Kuchma Announces Resignation Over Presidential Decree

LD1906171093 Kiev UKRINFORM in Russian 1346 GMT 19 Jun 93

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Sergey Kravchenko]

[Text] Dnepropetrovsk, 19 Jun—The statement at today's conference of Ukraine's metallurgists by Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma on his final decision to submit his resignation was unexpected, almost sensational, for the participants. The president's decree of 16 June served as the reason for it. It provides for a special committee of the Cabinet of Ministers to be set up for the operational management of Ukraine's economy, and Leonid Danylovych [Kuchma] was appointed its chairman.

I was being honest when I asked parliament for extraordinary powers and for the possibility to issue decrees, and to subordinate the National Bank and the State Property Fund to the government at this difficult time, in order to manage the economy from a single center, Leonid Kuchma told the assembled managers of enterprises and leaders of trade union committees of the metallurgical industry of Ukraine.

When the president asked for such powers for himself, I embarked on my resignation as a sign of support, because I was convinced that executive power must be concentrated in one pair of hands. I was frank when, after the Supreme Council refused to endow either the president or the government with such powers, I again spoke of my resignation. But at talks between the president, the chairman of parliament, and myself it was decided then to stop any kind of talk about leaving, and to continue work within the powers with which we were endowed.

Now, after the establishment of the extraordinary committee, the office of prime minister has in fact been abolished in Ukraine, and the president himself has become head of government. I have been allotted the role of deputy president for special assignments. I went into the government as head of the cabinet, with the firm wish to lead the economy out of the crisis, and not as chairman of a committee from which all government structures of empowerment and the mass media [as received] have been removed. Therefore, I will make a well-founded statement about my resignation at the next parliament sitting [scheduled to open on 22 June].

But before taking this step, Leonid Kuchma intends to find time to map out ways of removing the main shortcomings in the current development of the country's metallurgical and ore-mining industries. Heading a plenipotentiary government delegation, in the course of two days he acquainted himself with the situation in the Krivoy Rog basin where many miners' collectives went on strike, and held a representative working conference with the directors' corps in Dnepropetrovsk. They have already managed to solve some of the issues under dispute. Decisions on other issues still have to be made at the sitting of the Cabinet of Ministers scheduled for 21 June. Among the primary issues raised at the metallurgists' conference were prepayment, mutual accounts among enterprises, permission for barter exchanges, wage raises, clearing payments, and tangible security of state contracts for the manufacture of metal products, restoration of a reliable finance and credit system for domestic and interstate accounts.

Leonid Kuchma shared the anxiety of the metallurgists and representatives of other industries for the fate of Ukraine's economy. He supported the metallurgists' demand that a final decision be made on the adoption of the state program for the industry's development in the near and medium term, and spoke about the possibility of setting up an independent headquarters of the metallurgical and ore-mining industry of Ukraine.

Denies Resignation Plans

LD2106111793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1050 GMT 21 Jun 93

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Mikhail Kolomyets]

[Text] Kiev, June 21 (TASS)—Ukrainian Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma denied that he had told steel workers in the city of Dnepropetrovsk that he is resolute to finally resign and will announce his decision at the coming parliament session.

Kuchma told reporters upon his return to Kiev late on Sunday that the president, the parliament speaker and he himself had agreed that in conditions of a severe economic crisis the prime minister stops making any statements about his resignation and continues to fulfil his duties.

However, Kuchma admitted that he was completely unaware of the decree of the president which placed him at the head of the extraordinary economic committee and thus deprived him of the powers of the prime minister. He said the decree negatively affects the work of the government which, according to Kuchma, remains "the only efficient body in Ukraine".

The current situation does not allow the prime minister to normally fulfil his duties, Kuchma said.

In Dnepropetrovsk Kuchma announced his third attempt to resign because the president had taken over the functions of the prime minister.

Kuchma told a meeting of Ukrainian metallurgists on Saturday that he had adopted the decision after President Leonid Kravchuk created the extraordinary committee and appointed him its chairman.

"Now after the creation of the committee the post of the prime minister has been practically eliminated in Ukraine. I am now facing the role of vice-president at large. I came to the government as the head of the cabinet with a resolute desire to take the country out of the crisis and not as the chairman of a committee which has been deprived of all power structures of the government and of mass media", Kuchma said.

"I was honest when I asked the parliament for additional powers, the right to issue decrees and to subordinate the national bank and the state property fund to the government in such difficult times in order to manage the economy from a single centre", Kuchma said, adding that when the president asked for the powers himself he offered to resign in "a sign of support" because the executive authority should be in one hands.

"I was frank when I again offered to resign after the parliament denied the powers both to the president and the government. But at talks with the president and the parliament chairman I decided to stop talking about resignation and continue to work in the limits of authority which we possessed", he explained.

"Now the government has been headed by the president himself", Kuchma said.

Talks Between Strikers, Government Commission Continue

LD1806152393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1324 GMT 18 Jun 93

[Text] Donetsk June 18 TASS—Talks between the Donetsk inter-regional strike committee and a delegation of the Ukrainian government led by First Ukrainian Vice Prime Minister Efim Zvyagilskiy entered a second stage on Friday [18 June], while Ukrainian workers are continuing the strike.

The first stage of the talks, which ended in the early hours of today showed that there are many contradictions hampering the achievement of an agreement.

Participants in the talks discussed main demands of the striking workers, including a pay rise and adequate living standards for working people's families. The governmental commission is trying to persuade representatives of the coordination council that a number of demands cannot be satisfied now, since it is not only additional privileges to coal miners that are at issue, but the implemenation of a package of demands of the strike, involving entreprises of many industries.

The only step taken by the striking workers to improve the situation is a decision to supply metal works with some coal to maintain coke batteries in Ukrainian plants in a working condition. First cargoes of coal were sent from Donbass coal fields on Thursday.

Kuchma Visits Krivoy Rog, Meets Miners

LD1806174293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1521 GMT 18 Jun 93

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Sergey Kravchenko for TASS]

[Text] Krivoy Rog, the Dnepropetrovsk region, Ukraine, June 18 TASS—Ukrainian Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma arrived here today to meet miners and representatives of local labor collectives near the city executive committee building.

A meeting at the executive committee discussed the development of the Krivoy Rog coal basin and ways to eradicate reasons for miners' strikes.

Kuchma noted all disputable issues must be solved immediately, which is the aim of a delegation of Ukrainian ministries' staffers that has arrived in Krivoy Rog. He said they must elaborate joint tactics to save the Ukrainian economy from collapse. All items on the meeting agenda will be discussed by the Cabinet of Ministers on Monday [21 June].

The prime minister left Krivoy Rog for Dnepropetrovsk in the evening to attend a meeting of Ukrainian metallurgists on Saturday.

Trade Union Federation Calls Government Incompetent

LD1806152293 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in English 0000 GMT 18 Jun 93

[Text] The Ukrainian Trade Union Federation issued a statement accusing the country's top echelons of power of incompetence, inactivity, and inability to stop the society's overall crisis. The parliament could not within the two days of its functioning tackle the nation's major challenges nor could it merely define its [word indistinct] goals, the statement charges. The statement urges to set up a commission under the president to negotiate an agreement with the trade unions. It also calls on the MPs [members of parliament] to pass a resolution about holding preterm general elections in the fall of 1993. The Ukrainian Trade Union Federation statement calls for a nationwide referendum to question the nation's trust in the president and ask its opinion about Ukraine's social and state order.

Crimean Parliament Resolution on Free Economy Explained

LD2106140593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1351 GMT 21 Jun 93

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Lev Ryabchikov for TASS]

[Text] Simferopol June 21 TASS—A session of the Crimean parliament adopted a resolution on the introduction of the regime of free economy on the territory of the peninsula. Mass media interpreted incorrectly the resolution of the parliament as an attempt to leave Ukraine, Chairman of the Crimean Supreme Soviet Nikolay Bagrov and head of the Crimean parliament Boris Samsonov told a press conference on Monday [21 June]. According to their opinion, Crimea will overcome the crisis together with Ukraine and assume all responsibility for the solution of economic problems.

A number of specialists are working at the preparation of drafts of legislative and normative acts which give an opportunity to restore economic ties, to augment the production level and open ways for investments in national economy.

Kravchuk Praises Preparation of Draft Constitution

LD2006213093 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 20 Jun 93

[Excerpt] The last edition of Ukraine's draft constitution is being prepared on the basic principles and in accordance with the interests of the individual, democracy, and the strengthening of statehood. This was declared today by Ukraine's President Leonid Kravchuk at an international symposium in Kiev on Ukraine's draft constitution. Among them, the head of state stressed, is the independent democratic, social, and legal nature of the Ukrainian state, the priority of universally acknowledged human rights and freedoms, the division of power, a mixed form of state administration, and a uniformly decentralized system of local self-government in Ukraine.

Leonid Kravchuk also noted that the new fundamental law could become the guarantee of badly needed stability with regard to the state and law in Ukraine.

Vasyl Durdynets, first deputy chairman of the Supreme Council, heads of ministries and departments, scholars, and people's deputies are also taking part in the work of the internatonal symposium. [passage omitted]

Kravchuk Signs Decree Setting Up Anti-Crime Committee

LD2106100793 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in English 0000 GMT 21 Jun 93

[Text] President Krachuk signed a decree to set up an ad hoc committee to curb crime in Ukraine, which has been increasingly rampant since the country proclaimed its independence. The committee's aim will be to coordinate efforts of law enforcement and other bodies entrusted with combatting crime. The decree places President Kravchuk himself at the head of the committee with Interior Minister Vasylyshyn appointed his deputy and some other top officials personally named on its list, including Valeriy Hubenko, chairman of the State Committee for Border Protection; Justice Minister Vasyl Onopenko; and Ukraine's Procurator General, Viktor Shyshkyn.

Customs Officials To Get Arms, Special Equipment

LD1906154493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1114 GMT 19 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yefim Shvartsman]

[Text] Odessa, 19 Jun—The growth of organized crime has compelled the Government of Ukraine to make the decision to equip customs officials with firearms and special equipment. Henceforth, in the event of an attack against them or against individual citizens by a group or by armed individuals in the customs control zone they have the right to use firearms if their life is in danger. Customs officials have also been permitted to use rubber batons, handcuffs, gas pistols, and gas canisters to protect life and property and to detain lawbreakers.

Radiation Leak Reported at Zaporozhye Plant

LD1806003293 Kiev UKRINFORM in Russian 0657 GMT 16 Jun 93

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Vladimir Yeremenko]

[Text] Energodar (Zaporozhye Oblast), 15 Jun—The alarm signal at the Zaporozhye nuclear electric power station was heard while a planned check on the station's industrial platform [promploshchadka] was being carried out. An increase in background radiation was revealed in the area of the transport corridor of power unit number one.

A UKRINFORM correspondent was informed at the Zaporozhye nuclear electric power station information center that radioactive water seeping through containment panels in the area of the 6.6-meter mark because of the poor functioning of the drainage of the special sewage system, led to the increase of background radiation. The heavy rain on the previous day washed the contamination source over a small area with a radius of three to five meters. As the place of contamination is away from pedestrian paths, it does not present any danger to the staff or to the environment. The proper services have started to efficiently deactivate the contamination source and the adjacent area. The control measurements show that background radiation on the industrial platform of the Zaporozhye nuclear electric

power has not undergone changes, and as before is at the level of eight to 14 microroentgens per hour.

Nuclear Specialists Oppose Closing Down Chernobyl AES

AU1806194193 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 17 Jun 93 p 4

[Oleksiy Breus report: "The Deputies Are Advised To Reconsider Their Decision"]

[Text] Recently the symposium "The Chernobyl Atomic Electric Power Plant [AES]: Scientific-Technological, Economic, and Social Consequences of Political Decisions" ended its work. Ukraine's "Greenpeace" disseminated a statement in which it assesses the holding of the symposium as an attempt on the part of atomic specialists to influence the public regarding the continuation of the exploitation of the Chernobyl AES. The Green Party and the "Green World" Association show a similar attitude to the conference.

However, O. Dupak, chairman of the symposium's organizing committee and vice president of the Scientific-Technological Union of Ukraine's Power Engineers and Specialists in Electrical Technology, believes that it was the first time that an attempt was made to approach the resolution of the fate of the Chernobyl AES in a comprehensive way and taking into account a wide range of opinions. This was, perhaps, what politicians lacked when they adopted the decisions, first, on the renovation of the Chernobyl AES after the accident and, then, on its shutdown in 1993.

A few days ago, the organizing committee sent an appeal to the president of the country, to the Cabinet of Ministers, and to the Supreme Council in which, referring to the fact that the majority of specialists at the symposium found the closing down of the Chernobyl AES inexpedient, it proposed that a governmental commission be created for resolving the problem in a comprehensive way. The organizing committee also believes that, taking into account the reasoning of specialists, the Supreme Council must also return to the question of the timetable for halting the Chernobyl AES.

Odessa Authorities Cut Power Supplies Due to Coal Shortage

LD1906130193 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in English 2100 GMT 18 Jun 93

[Text] In view of the drastic shortages of coal to fuel power stations in south Ukraine belonging to the Odessa Energo Association, the local regional administration ordered to significantly reduce power supply to industrial consumers, which threatens to force some enterprises to curtail or even stop production. The rigid power economizing regulation is reported to be imposed until 25 June so far, with further steps largely dependent on the coal miners' strike outcome.

National-Democratic Forces Plan To Support Kravchuk

LD2006220393 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 0500 GMT 20 Jun 93

[Text] The Council of Ukraine's Congress of National-Democratic Forces held a meeting in Kiev. The first issue was the civil and political situation in the state. Members of this governing body defined their stand on a number of matters of principle. In particular, the Council of the Congress declared its most active participation in the referendum campaign. It appealed to all political, public, and professional citizens' associations to come out in a united bloc under the slogan: Confidence in the popularly-elected president and no confidence in the Supreme Council.

Communist Party Congress Adopts Statement, Rules

LD2006093193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0515 GMT 20 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anatoliy Gordeyev]

[Text] Donetsk June 20 TASS—A congress of the Communist Party of Ukraine ended here late on Saturday [19 June] night. As was expected, the main discussion centred on the question of constitutionalising the forum.

Some of radically-minded delegates demanded that the congress be reckoned the 29th one, thereby cancelling out the party's almost two-years-long status of an outlawed one. Other delegates, who take a more realistic view of things, succeeded in upholding a legitimate way to legalise the activities of the Communist Party of Ukraine. As a result, a decision was taken to regard the congress as a restorational one.

The congress adopted a programmatic statement, party rules and a statement on the Communist Party's attitude towards the Union of Communist Parties-the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (UCP-CPSU).

The congress instructed a newly-elected Central Committee to refer appropriate materials, connected with the CPU's joining the Union of Communist Parties, to the UCP-CPSU council after the party's rules are registered by the republican Ministry of Justice.

Counterintelligence Chief Views Tasks, Goals

AU1806121193 Kiev DEMOKRATYCHNA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian 16 Jun 93 p 3

[Interview with Major General Hennadiy Oleksandrovych Fedyayev, deputy chairman of Ukraine's Security Service and chief of Ukraine's Security Service Main Administration of Military Intelligence, by Serhiy Korotchenko; place and date not given: "Vacancies for Stirlitz"]

[Text] **The editorial board receives letters asking: What are the tasks of military counterintelligence at Ukraine's Security Service? These questions may be explained by the appearance in some of the media of materials alleging that this subdivision is ineffective and that the Army is helpless before spies. Our correspondent met with Major General H. Fedyayev, deputy chairman of Ukraine's Security Service and chief of Ukraine's Security Service Main Administration of Military Intelligence.**

[Korotchenko] Hennadiy Oleksandrovych, as far as I am concerned, there was no military counterintelligence in the structure of Ukraine's Security Service.

[Fedyayev] This was because, at that time, the single Armed Forces of the former USSR still existed, and special KGB departments, directly subordinated to Moscow, were entrusted with providing them with counterintelligence information. This limited the Ukraine leadership's possibilities in obtaining information about the situation in military units stationed on Ukrainian territory. With the adoption on 18 December 1991 of the Ukrainian presidential edict "On Counterintelligence Provision of Military Formations" the situation changed. It is precisely on this basis that the military counterintelligence began to be formed in the Security Service system.

The tasks of military counterintelligence are specified by the law "On Ukraine's Security Service." The strictly specific tasks are to provide counterintelligence in the process of creating the Armed Forces, the insurance of the nuclear and ecological safety of military facilities, the struggle against organized crime within the forces, and the prevention of the unsanctioned export from the country of combat technology, weapons, and military property.

[Korotchenko] What is the difference between former special KGB departments and organs of the Security Service Military Counterintelligence?

[Fedyayev] The differences are quite substantial. It is not just a change of the signboard, but, first and foremost, the presence of a solid and clear-cut legal foundation, something that the special departments did not have.

On the basis of the law "On Ukraine's Security Service," the organs of Military Counterintelligence within the Security Service are subordinated to Ukraine's president and are accountable to the Supreme Council. This enables both the legislative and executive powers to control their activity.

Consequently, the military counterintelligence of Ukraine's Security Service differs radically from the special departments of the KGB in both structural and operational terms.

[Korotchenko] By what laws are the organs of military counterintelligence guided in their activity?

[Fedyayev] Like all officers of Ukraine's Security Service, the military counterintelligence officers are guided by the Constitution, by the laws "On Ukraine's Security Service" and "On the Operational Investigation Activity," and also by laws that regulate the activity of the Armed Forces: the laws "On Ukraine's Defense," "On the General Military Duty and Military Service," and other state and international legal norms.

[Korotchenko] How do you assess what has been done and what problems is counterintelligence presently resolving?

[Fedyayev] Let us be straight: There have been cases of lack of professionalism, and not everybody, especially young military counterintelligence officers, always showed enough competence. However, in my opinion, military counterintelligence did pass the difficult test at the stage of its development.

In terms of facts, our military counterintelligence has thwarted more than 70 attempts at direct interference by officials of the CIS Joint Armed Forces and of the Russian Ministry of Defense into the process of building the Ukrainian Army. It has managed to avert 167 preconditions that might lead to extraordinary events in units. It has prevented the theft of 50 combat aircraft and 201 automobile vehicles, the removal from Ukraine of 454 aircraft engines, of three "Impuls-1" anti-fire units, of 50 refrigerator installations of the SS-20 missile complex, as well as of dismantled radioelectronic equipment containing 85 kilograms of gold, 1,200 kilograms of silver, 25 kilograms of platinum, and 18 kilograms of platinum-group metals. In more than 200 cases, "businessmen with shoulder boards" got what they deserved. The economic effect of the activity of the military counterintelligence organs has totalled more than 14 billion karbovantsi.

Perhaps, the most important task of our military counterintelligence officers is to ensure nuclear safety. They were directly involved in neutralizing six cases of reduced nuclear safety. Information on this question is forwarded, on a regular basis, to the leadership at all levels.

Ukraine's Security Service Military Counterintelligence also has experience in dealing with espionage. In close collaboration with the Main Counterintelligence Administration, it managed to uncover the espionage activity of one serviceman and his associates. On the commission of a foreign special service, these individuals had collected secret information on Ukraine's Armed Forces.

Of particular concern for the military counterintelligence is the growing interest in weapons. Fourteen attempts by wrong-doers to penetrate weapons depots have been disclosed and thwarted, as well as 139 attempts to talk servicemen into selling weapons and munitions; numerous firearms, hundreds of combat hand grenades, and tens of thousands of cartridges have been confiscated and returned to units. The illegal removal from Ukraine of 41,000 units of firearms, 30 million units of munitions for them, and 1,175 kilograms of explosives have been prevented.

We realize that there still remain vast reserves for an improvement in our work. They lie, first and foremost, in an efficient utilization of the intellectual potential of the personnel. We have young cadres, and this gives us hope.

[Korotchenko] What is your attitude toward the recent statement by the Congress of Officers' Union to the effect that it might be expedient to transfer military counterintelligence to the subordination of Ukraine's Minister of Defense?

[Fedyayev] The question of resubordinating military counterintelligence is one of the global issues of state importance. Of course, it cannot be resolved at rallies or at the rostrums of congresses held by public organizations. Our professional point of view is as follows: In the present difficult socioeconomic situation, the transformation of the military counterintelligence into a departmental structure of the Defense Ministry is not worthwhile. By protecting troops, the military counterintelligence defends the interests of the state, and this is the main thing.

In order to successfully neutralize the attempts on the part of foreign special services and mafioso elements, it is necessary to combine the forces and possibilities of the military counterintelligence with the potential offered by other structures of the Security Service. At the same time, if the counterintelligence is no longer subordinated to Ukraine's Security Service, a further fragmentation of efforts may result.

The materials that the Security Service has at its disposal testify to attempts on the part of ringleaders of criminal groupings that exist in Ukraine to establish contacts with officials of the Ministry of Defense and commanders of some units in order to profit from selling military property in the wake of the reduction in the Armed Forces. These are great military values. Control over just one such, so to speak, "equipment sections" ["oborudka"] has made it possible to avert economic losses worth 10 billion karbovantsi.

If the military counterintelligence is transformed into a departmental structure of the Ministry of Defense and the National Guard, this will create conditions for its politicization and, as a consequence, it may be transformed into a dangerous instrument in the struggle of certain political forces for power. Proceeding from the experience of our neighbors, I can say that, leaving organs of military counterintelligence in the system of security ministries and committees—in Russia, Belarus, and Kazakhstan—is one effective way to maintain the state's control over the Armed Forces.

[Korotchenko] What are the main criteria of professional suitability of counterintelligence officers?

[Fedyayev] It is a topical question. Today, our military counterintelligence is short more than 500 persons, and this has a considerable effect upon the efficiency of operational work in the troops. Military counterintelligence specialists are also arriving from other CIS countries. However, the problem of the chronic shortage of housing for servicemen is also, in full measure, a problem of military counterintelligence.

However, I feel that lofty words may be used here and that, despite the difficulties, the activity of our military counterintelligence officers is characterized by heroism and readiness for self-sacrifice. Having taken the oath of allegiance to the people of Ukraine, they fulfill their duty with a sense of high responsibility.

The questions of training young cadres are presently being resolved by the Cadres Training Institute at Ukraine's Security Service (Kiev, 22, Trutenko Street). One can get information about the conditions of admittance to our institution of higher learning both in military counterintelligence offices and in territorial departments of the Security Service.

The requirements for the Security Service personnel are these: Boundless loyalty to the people of Ukraine, professionalism, strong moral principles, a solid intellectual level, and conscientious fulfillment of the official duties. The necessary qualities are as follows: Courage and determination, the ability to keep military and state secrets, high diligence, endurance, and the ability to psychologically withstand being overworked.

Azerbaijan

National Assembly Meets on Political 'Deterioration'

LD2106092093 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 21 Jun 93

[Text] An extraordinary session of the National Assembly, the parliament of Azerbaijan, devoted to the deterioration of the domestic political situation in the republic opened today in Baku. An INTERFAX correspondent reports that President Elchibey was not present at the opening of the session.

Elchibey declared earlier that he had left Baku on Thursday night to avoid bloodshed in the face of the threat of an assault on the capital by the forces of the rebellious colonel, Surat Guseynov. Elchibey stated at the same time that he remained president of the republic.

Responsible sources close to the Azerbaijan leadership believe that an attempt will be made at the extraordinary session of the National Assembly to put together a state council, to which the president's main powers will be transferred.

Urges Elchibey To Return

NC2106115093 Baku TURAN in English 1053 GMT 21 Jun 93

[Text] Baku June 21 (TURAN)—Milli Mejlis addressed an appeal to the president of Azerbaijan Abulfaz Elchibey.

This address states, that president of Azerbaijan is the head of high executive power in the country, he is in charge of military forces and runs government. But presidents sudden departure makes impossible Abulfaz Elchibey's further running the government.

Taking into account said-above, and also critical situation in the country, Milli Mejlis accepted the appeal to the president A. Elchibey immediately come back to Baku and continue implementation of his duties.

Hears Latest on Guseynov Troops

LD2106105593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1012 GMT 21 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Sevinazh Abdullayeva, Viktor Shulman]

[Text] Baku, 21 Jun (TASS)—A unit commanded by rebel Colonel Surat Guseynov, who formerly commanded a corps of the national army, today reached Shikhovskiy beach, on the southern outskirts of the Azerbaijan capital. This is despite yesterday's agreement that Guseynov's men would suspend their advance on Baku for one week. This alarming report has just been made to the republic's parliament, which is in emergency session.

Acting Interior Minister Rovshan Dzhabadov also told the deputies that another of Surat Guseynov's units, which was moving towards Baku from the direction of Shemakha, has temporarily halted and is currently 78 km from the capital. In Dzhabadov's opinion, Guseynov has enough troops to enter the city. He also said that in Baku itself "the situation is grave and could get out of control at any minute," and that "a political solution must be found as soon as possible, because tomorrow might be too late."

Rovshan Dzhavadov also briefed deputies on the movements of the Armenian armed units operating on Azerbaijani territory, declaring that "our adversary intends to seize new territories and to advance to the Kura river [in northwestern Azerbaijan]."

The interior ministry chief's assessments were shared by Geydar Aliyev, the chairman of the Azerbaijani parliament, who likewise described the situation in the republic as "difficult and tense." The head of parliament stressed that the president's presence in Baku was necessary to enable an important decision capable of stopping the dangerous development of events to be taken.

However, telephone conversations held with the head of state by a number of the republic's leaders, including the heads of the foreign, interior, and defense ministries, have not elicited a concrete answer to the question of when Abulfaz Elchibey will return from his remote village to the Azerbaijani capital. In the opinion of Geydar Aliyev, which was shared by the acting interior and defense ministers, the presence of the president and commander-in- chief of the armed forces is necessary, because "he cannot fully exercise leadership of the state from a distance."

1,000 Guseynov Troops Enter Baku With 'Heavy Artillery'

TA2006191593 Ankara TRT Television Network in Turkish 1900 GMT 20 Jun 93

[Irfan Sapmaz report from Baku]

[Text] A unit of close to 1,000 troops from Surat Guseynov's forces has entered Baku with heavy artillery. The military unit started to advance on the Gyandzha-(Kur) railway at 1100 this morning. It advanced 60 km on the way to Baku by 1930 local time. It was not met with any resistance. It then advanced on foot. The reports that the unit came to take Baku caused great amazement and fear in Baku. The Azerbaijani flag was on the tanks and armored vehicles. The unit entered Baku without meeting any resistance. The unit commander said that they will not harm anyone in the city, but that they will retaliate if fired on.

Troops 'Within 16 Km of Baku'

NC2106102893 Baku TURAN in English 0949 GMT 21 Jun 93

[Text] Baku June 21 (TURAN)—Armoured unit, consisting of 6 tanks and 150 Surat Guseynovs infantry-men is within 16 km of Baku in Lok-Batan district.

It is unknown how this sub-unit was let yesterday at 16 oclock by government forces in Adzhikabul region and came to Lok-Batan district at 17 oclock on local time.

After Etibar Mamedov and Surat Guseynov achieving yesterday agreement, the advancing of the forces was frozen from 18 oclock June 20. In line with this agreement, sides agreed not to let any advancing of the forces until the end of this week. Milli Mejlis is to hold investigation and draw a conclusion, concerning the causes of Gyandzha crisis June 4, during this period.

As it was reported before, Surat Guseynov insisted that the president and his close entourage should be informed about preparing action in Gyandzha and must be punished for spilled there blood.

As opposition leader Etibar Mamedov said yesterday at the press- conference, Surat Guseynov promised to agree to any conclusion of the commission.

But as we can see from events, Surat Guseynov doesnt refuse from his first demands and continues military pressure on president Elchibey to make him quit.

Troop Movement Suspended for 1 Week

LD2006183893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1754 GMT 20 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Shulman]

[Text] Baku, 20 Jun—The advance by the armed subunits of Surat Guseynov toward the Azerbaijani capital has been suspended from 1800 [1400 GMT] today. Journalists were told this by influential opposition leader Etibar Mamedov, on his return from Gyandzha this evening after holding talks with Surat Guseynov.

According to Etibar Mamedov, an agreement has been reached on a moratorium on the movement of troops for a one-week period. As a result favorable conditions are being created for completing the investigation into the reasons for the events in Gyandzha, which is being conducted by a deputies' commission of the National Assembly.

The opposition leader himself believes that the republic's government is responsible for the Gyandzha events, as is "to the same degree President Abulfaz Elchibey who, as commander in chief of the armed forces, bears responsibility for the actions of government troops."

Etibar Mamedov said he is in favor of setting up a provisional government which, according to him, "will function until parliamentary elections are held."

Guseynov Calls For Elchibey To Resign

NC1906093393 Paris AFP in English 0907 GMT 19 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow, June 19 (AFP)—The commander of the Azerbaijani rebellion that triggered the overthrow of president Abulfaz Elchibey insisted Saturday that the fugitive head of state formally resign, a news agency reported here.

Assa-Irada agency said Colonel Surat Guseynov, who now has some 1,000 rebel troops outside the Azerbaijani capital, was continuing to put pressure on Elchibey, who fled Baku early Friday.

President Geydar Aliyev, who took over the reins of power in his capacity as parliamentary speaker, has sent the former defence minister Rahim Gadzhiyev to negotiate with Guseynov, Assa-Irada reported.

The Turkish government has condemned the takeover as unconstitutional since Elchibey neither resigned nor fell ill, the two conditions under which Aliyev would have been entitled to succeed him.

Guseynov began his rebellion after both he and Gadzhiyev were fired by Elchibey in February. The president accused them of being responsible for a series of defeats suffered by Azerbaijani forces fighting Armenian secessionists in the Nagorno-Karabakh enclave in the southwest of the republic.

After Guseynov captured Azerbaijan's second city earlier this month, Elchibey allowed Aliyev, who was the communist boss of the republic in Soviet Union days, to take the post of speaker.

But this did not stall Guseynov's advance on Baku, and Elchibey fled.

Reportedly Demands Prime Ministerial Post

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[Excerpt] Baku, June 20 (AFP)—Azerbaijan's rebel commander Surat Guseynov, whose revolt forced President Abulfaz Elchibey to flee the capital, has demanded to be named prime minister or to another top post, a reliable source said here Sunday.

The source said troops loyal to Guseynov on Sunday were still in positions about 100 kilometers (62 miles) outside Baku, to where they advanced last week after seizing Azerbaijan's second city, Gyandzha. The rebellion launched on June 4 led to fighting with government troops that left 69 dead.

Guseynov's troops had vowed to remove the president by force if necessary.

But acting leader Geydar Aliyev said here that Guseynov had agreed, in telephone calls with him, to halt his offensive aimed at seizing power in the former Soviet republic.

The Assa-Irada news agency however said the rebel troops have refused to drop demands for Elchibey's resignation.

Guseynov was now demanding the prime minister's or some other key post, such as head of the state council, the source said here. Former prime minister Panakh Guseynov resigned last week in the turmoil that has brought Azerbaijan to the verge of civil war.

The source said several hundred troops loyal to the rebel leader remained deployed about seven kilometers from Navagui [spelling as received], southwest of Baku, and at Chemakha [spelling as received], on the road northwest of the capital. [passage omitted]

Aliyev Holds News Conference 20 Jun

NC2006192393 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1500 GMT 20 Jun 93

[Press conference by Geydar Aliyev, Supreme Soviet chairman, with foreign and domestic correspondents in Baku on 20 June—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Aliyev] I greet all of you and [words indistinct]. I wish to briefly inform you about the latest situation in Azerbaijan. Later, I will be ready to answer your questions. I see that many of the representatives of the foreign and local press are attending this briefing. I shall try to reply to your questions. However, I beg you to ask specific and brief questions so that I can respond.

Everyone is aware of the recent incidents in Azerbaijan. The situation remains tense. The main reason for the tension is the incidents in Gyandzha. It is the demands put forward by the military units in Gyandzha and their commander, Surat Guseynov, who is a deputy of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet. It is linked with the move Surat Guseynov and the military units under his command made to place the situation around Gyandzha and areas close to Baku under their control. Another reason for the tension [words indistinct].

The recent tension and the disruption of the internal political situation is also linked with the attacks on Agdam and Agdere by the Armenian military units and the bloody fighting in the two areas. Undoubtedly, we have to send military units to the two areas to defend them. In fact, we have done so. Nevertheless, the internal situation has been disrupted. It is very tense.

One of the reasons that tension has been created in the Republic is President Abulfaz Elchibey's absence from Baku. Abulfaz Elchibey left Baku for Nakhichevan in a plane without informing anyone and without giving instructions on the night between 17 and 18 June. He was accompanied by a small group of men who protected him. He arrived in Nakhichevan and immediately left for Kelepli in Ordubadskiy Rayon. He is in Kelepli at the present time. The National Assembly [words indistinct]. Abulfaz Elchibey has called me. I asked him why he took such a step, why he left Baku, why he failed to inform us, and why he abandoned us as the head of state. He said that he left because of what was happening. I urged him to return to Baku. However, he said that he would remain where he was for a few days. He said that we could assume his duties and that he would return to Baku after a peaceful situation was established.

I tried to call Abulfaz Elchibey yesterday. The communications were very poor. We were unable to come to a final decision. However, Abulfaz Elchibey asked about the situation in Baku. [passage indistinct].

The leading officials of the National Assembly, [words indistinct], the ministries, and [word indistinct] met at 1400. The situation was discussed. Several views were put forward. We agreed to convene the National Assembly to debate the situation at 1100 the next day. [words indistinct] President Elchibey must return to Baku. He is the commander in chief of the Azerbaijan Armed Forces and, as such, he has to fulfill his duties. Although he is in Azerbaijan territory, he is not in his office. He is in a distant town. Communication services are very limited. He cannot fulfill his duties as the president and the commander in chief from that town. In view of this, President Elchibey's return to Baku to work as Azerbaijan's president and commander in chief is truly essential.

Acting as the chairman of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet, I am taking all the necessary measures within the framework of my authority to prevent an escalation of tension and, in general, to remove the existing state of affairs in the country. However, my authority as the chairman of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet is common knowledge. The authority of the president [words indistinct].

Several foreign information programs claimed, particularly after my television appeal to the people, that Geydar Aliyev had assumed presidential authority, but that is illegal and cannot be possible. I wish to inform you at this time that the president is in Azerbaijan and I have not assumed his duties. Nor can I do so. The problem is not the concept of authority [words indistinct]. What was the main objective of certain foreign and local mass media organs? They wished to [words indistinct] and disregard the question of removing the existing situation.

In order to obstruct these views, and anticipating that you may ask questions about them, I wish to say the following: I am fulfilling my responsibilities as the chairman of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet. In view of the fact that the president is absent, I am carrying out the necessary work within the framework of his responsibilities. I conferred with President Elchibey by telephone on 18 June. He informed me that I can use his authority. However, I will not touch his authority. I wish to make that point clear so that no one will concern himself with that matter anymore and will try to bring to light our main problems.

That is all that I have to say.

[Unidentified announcer] Sevim Nuriyev, representing the television's Hefta [weekly] program.

[Nuriyev] I represent Azerbaijan television's Hefta program. [words indistinct] and I wish to ask the credibility of that information. My second question [words indistinct]. Thank you.

[Aliyev] [passage indistinct] I wish to reply to your second question. There have been incidents [words indistinct]. I am aware of the details. I am able to say that the Republic's president has abandoned his office and is absent from Baku. Certain forces are active in various areas. The situation has become very serious. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Riza Ibragimov, representing Azerbaijan [Baku] Radio and [words indistinct].

[Ibragimov] Esteemed Chairman Aliyev, have the talks you have held with the leading officials of the Republic's political establishments and [words indistinct] yielded a positive result for peace and security in our country? Thank you.

[Aliyev] It is common knowledge that the situation is very tense. I have held talks with Surat Guseynov and other influential people. I have held talks with people who have political influence. They were only aimed at removing the tension and the government crisis. I was informed yesterday that several media organs reported that Geydar Aliyev is holding political talks to establish a coalition government. These reports are unfounded. I have not held talks to establish a coalition government. As the chairman of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet, my objective is to remove the crisis situation, which is related to the incidents in Gyandzha, and to halt the recent clashes in Karabakh. A document was signed as a result of the initiative made by the United States, Russia, and Turkey a short time ago. That document was also signed by the representatives of Nagorno-Karabakh. Consequently, a basis has been established for a gradual peace process in Nagorno-Karabakh.

However, the resumption of fighting in Agdam and Agdere in Karabakh has significantly harmed the work carried out by the three influential countries and the leaders in Azerbaijan. Therefore, my second obligation is to see to it that the fighting in Agdam and Agdere is halted and a basis is established for the realization of the initiative made by the United States, Russia, and Turkey. Yes, that is my objective. I have not held talks on any other matter. The idea of the establishment of a coalition government is out of the question. Talks on such an idea will not comply with the framework of president's authority. Debating the question of a coalition government in the absence of the president from Baku is impossible.

I am trying to hold talks for the establishment of peace and security. However, I cannot say that my effort will resolve the problem. We have to make an effort. The situation is very tense. I take this opportunity to reiterate the appeal I made through radio and television. I appeal to all the people, including our influential individuals, leaders of political parties, scientists, scholars, elderly officials, and religious clergymen to urge them to unite in order to remove the existing problem. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Kerimov, representative of the Azerbaijan National Independence Party Press Center.

[Kerimov] Esteemed Aliyev, can you explain the basic points on which you have conferred with Surat Guseynov and [words indistinct]. That was my first question. My second question is related to your remarks on the government crisis in Azerbaijan. What are the measures that have been considered to remove the crisis? My third question is related to the signing of agreements with several Western oil companies in the near future. How will the incidents affect the signing of those agreements? Thank you.

[Aliyev] The agreements you have mentioned [words indistinct]. A government crisis has emerged. President Elchibey has to return to Baku in order that the crisis can be removed. I am not aware of the agreements that will be signed with Western oil companies. In fact, I do not have time to occupy myself with them.

[Announcer] Rauf Mir-Kadyrov, representative of the Azerbaijan National Independence Party Press Center and [name indistinct] Television Network.

[Mir-Kadyrov] Esteemed Aliyev, [words indistinct]. I wish to ask about the concrete measures that are contemplated for the peaceful resolution of the problem. What are the conditions that may pave the way for a reconciliation between the two sides in order that peace and security can be established in Azerbaijan? Etibar Mamedov will hold a press conference at our party building and [words indistinct]. Thank you.

[Aliyev] It is common knowledge that there are many conditions. We have informed the two sides of each other's conditions. I do not wish to comment on them. Etibar Mamedov is in Gyandzha. He may bring additional information when he returns that will contribute toward the solution to the problem. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Nedim Yalcin, representative of the television network's Time [Zaman] program.

[Yalcin] Esteemed Aliyev, the EC countries, the U.S. State Department, Turkey, and other countries have criticized the initiative made to remove Abulfaz Elchibey. In fact, they have issued statements in that regard. Meanwhile, Surat Guseynov has demanded Elchibey's resignation. Can you comment on what can be done for a reconciliation between the two sides? Thank you.

[Aliyev] The work I have carried out is aimed only at convincing the two sides to reach a reconciliation to find a peaceful solution to the problem. I have said several times in the past, and I wish to now reiterate, that I am against any unconstitutional and undemocratic initiative. I condemn any such activity. Furthermore, I wish to

say that I will not allow any such initiative. All matters related to state construction in Azerbaijan must be based on the laws, the Constitution, democratic principles, and human rights. I am opposed to any activity outside that framework.

[Announcer] Shahin Gadzhiyev, representing the TURAN NEWS AGENCY and newspaper AYNA.

[Gadzhiyev] Mr. Aliyev, the prime minister, the chairman of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet, and several other ministers resigned during the past few days. The foreign countries believe that serious changes will take place in Azerbaijan's foreign policy. Can you comment on that matter?

[Aliyev] I believe that Azerbaijan's foreign policy will not change. I am convinced that the Republic's foreign policy is aimed at establishing relations with all the countries in the world based on equality. It is aimed at improving Azerbaijan's relations with the neighboring and other countries in the world on the basis of global objectives and in accordance with the principles of democracy and non-interference in internal affairs. I do not believe that a change will take place in Azerbaijan's foreign policy.

[Announcer] Ismail Umudly, representing AYNA and [name indistinct]

[Umudly] Mr. Aliyev, we support your effort to establish peace and security in Azerbaijan. We have received reports that a party representative in Kedabekskiy Rayon has declared himself has the head of that rayon's executive authority today. Can you assess that incident? Thank you.

[Aliyev] I have not been informed on that incident. However, I am against the use of force in any way. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Nedred Tamashia, representing [name indistinct].

[Tamashia] Mr. Aliyev, when can Abulfaz Elchibey return to Baku and when can Surat Guseynov agree to regard him as the president? That was may first question. My second question is related to your opinion on Surat Guseynov's demand for a high-ranking position, such as prime minister. My third question is related to the Azerbaijan National Army. Which side does the National Army support? Does it support Surat Guseynov or the Republic's leaders? Thank you.

[Aliyev] Abulfaz Elchibey must return to Baku as the president, regardless of whether or not Surat Guseynov regards him as the president. I believe that President Elchibey cannot change his position in accordance with the views of a number of individuals. Regarding the question of appointing Surat Guseynov to a post, I have to discuss that matter with President Elchibey. I wish to reply to your second question. The (?9th) Division is under Surat Guseynov's command. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Thomas Bird, representing THE NEW YORK TIMES.

[Bird] Mr. Aliyev, you said in Baku when [words indistinct] to Nakhichevan that the incident may be described as a coup. Why has the word terrorism not been used regarding Surat Guseynov's incident?

[Aliyev] I have not understood your question. [passage indistinct]

[Announcer] Ridvan Aliyev, representing the newspaper NAKHICHEVAN.

[Ridvan Aliyev] Mr. Aliyev, the radio and television and the press have claimed that the president can govern the country from wherever he wishes to do so. We met with one of the leaders in Nakhichevan. He said that he was informed in his talks with President Elchibey that he is governing the Republic, concerning himself with border areas, and making suggestions and recommendations. I want to ask whether that is true and whether you have been informed of his suggestions and recommendations. Thank you.

[Aliyev] I asked Shamseddin Hambabayev, prime minister of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic [NAR], to go to Kelepli in Ordubadskiy Rayon yesterday morning. I asked him to meet with President Elchibey and offer his services to him as the prime minister of NAR [words indistinct] and inform me of Elchibey's wishes. Hambabayev called me last night. He said: I went to Ordubadskiy Rayon but I was obstructed in [name indistinct]. I said that I was the prime minister. However, I was informed that I would not be allowed to travel any further without the consent of El'dar Mamedov, head of the Ordubadskiy Rayon militia and member of the Azerbaijan People's Front.

Later, Hambabayev said that he arrived in the city of Ordubad and met Rushen Shakir, head of the Ordubadskiy Rayon Executive Authority, a few hour later. Hambabayev asked to be received by Abulfaz Elchibey because he had a message to convey to him from Geydar Aliyev. Shakir called Kelepli. He was informed that Abulfaz Elchibey will receive Hambabayev. However, he waited until the evening but was not received by Elchibey. He came back. That is all I can say.

[Announcer] Mirza Askerov, representing [name indistinct] NEWS AGENCY.

[Askerov] Mr. Aliyev, we are aware that President Elchibey, who is in Nakhichevan, is unwilling to receive [words indistinct] and Turkish officials. We are aware that he is protected by [words indistinct] in Nakhichevan and that the situation is stable. I wish to ask whether your arrival in Baku and President Elchibey's departure to Nakhichevan may change the stable situation in that region. That was my first question. My second question is as follows: We have received information that the president is preparing for a popular [word indistinct] in Ordubad. How can [words indistinct]?

[Aliyev] I want to reply as follows: The president informed us in our telephone conversation that he may return to Baku whenever he wishes to do so. You are aware that one of Surat Guseynov's demands is the president's resignation. What will happen if the president returns to Baku? It will [words indistinct]. Meanwhile, the situation in Nakhichevan is stable. In fact, it is more so than in the other parts of Azerbaijan. I fully believe that stability exists in Nakhichevan, that is, as long as activities are not carried out to disrupt the situation.

Abulfaz Elchibey held a press conference in Kelepli yesterday. The text of that press conference was conveyed to Baku by the Nakhichevan Television Network at midnight last night. We hope to receive that text within a short period. I believe that the Azerbaijan Television Network will telecast President Elchibey's press conference. I am as yet unaware of his appeal. Therefore, I cannot comment on it. The question of fratricide is in the enemy's interest.

[Announcer] Elmaz Gadyeri, representing the BBC.

[Gadyeri] Mr. Aliyev, the president has been absent for several days. A prime minister has not been appointed thus far. Meanwhile, the Armenians maintain their attacks. Can you comment on this situation?

[Aliyev] I want the president to return as soon as possible. I want a prime minister to be appointed. This way, we shall be able to resolve the problems related to Armenia. That is my opinion. The president's return would solve many of the problems.

[Announcer] Ersin Sadyr ogly, correspondent of the newspaper AZERBAIJAN ORDUSU [AZERBAIJAN ARMY].

[Sadyr ogly] My question is linked to the armed forces. Azerbaijan's independence depends on the war in Karabakh and the war in Karabakh depends on diplomacy in Azerbaijan and the Azerbaijan Armed Forces. As the chairman of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet, are you satisfied with the situation of the armed forces at the present time? Can you comment on the establishment of the army in Azerbaijan? Can you also say what can resolve the Karabakh dispute? Is it the strength of our army or the strength of the [word indistinct] policy?

[Aliyev] The Azerbaijan Armed Forces have been established at the required level. However, the army has been divided during the past few days. Undoubtedly, as an independent republic, Azerbaijan must have an army which supports its state. I believe that that is one of the main tasks of the government. Regarding the question of Karabakh, that is, the war between Azerbaijan and Armenia, the fighting has been going on for more than five years now. Undoubtedly, a concrete [word indistinct] cannot be made. However, we have to [words indistinct] and try to find a political way. The initiative made by the United States, Russia, and Turkey deserves to be noted in that regard.

[Announcer] Ali Azerli, representative of the newspaper BIRLIK [UNITY].

[Azerli] Mr. Aliyev, using your experience in government, what are the measures you have planned to take to establish national reconciliation in Azerbaijan? Neither Surat Guseynov nor anyone else has taken the president's amnesty seriously. The president should have first moved to establish national reconciliation before doing anything else. My main question is whether or not reforms will be abandoned in Azerbaijan. The reforms were copied from Russia. However, Russia has abandoned them. Azerbaijan has decided to maintain the reforms. My second question is related to division of work in the Republic. Changes have not been made among the officials appointed by the former president. However, as a former diplomat, I am greatly grieved by the question of the representation of Azerbaijan in foreign countries. Physics teachers have held leading positions in foreign policy in Azerbaijan. Isa Kamberov, former chairman of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet, convinced the deputies in that regard. Will that practice be maintained or changed? A political sciences institute does not exist in Azerbaijan. Consequently, ambassadors have been appointed by the National Assembly to represent Azerbaijan in the outside world. Apart from Vefa Kulizade, I do not believe a career diplomat exists in Azerbaijan. Thank you.

[Aliyev] There is no need for [word indistinct]. Your first question is related to national reconciliation. You are aware that the matter is linked to various problems. Our main objective is to establish national reconciliation, remove the existing confrontation, prevent the recurrence of bloodshed, bring the people closer together, and urge the people to respect each other. You are aware that I do not wish to [words indistinct]. Regrettably, many of our people have been demoralized during the past few years. Respect does not exist anymore. The religion, schools, and [words indistinct] are not respected anymore. These problems cannot be solved overnight. However, our main objective is to establish national reconciliation at the present time. We have to remove the threat of confrontation. That will create an opportunity for the settlement of the problems in accordance with the law. Regarding the Republic's military policy, I do not wish to touch on that subject. It is not the time for that.

[Announcer] Akhmed Bagirov, representing the newspaper MEYDAN [ARENA].

[Bagirov] Mr. Aliyev, the captain is the last person to abandon a sinking ship. However, the captain was the first to abandon ship in Azerbaijan. Can you comment on that matter and [words indistinct]. My second question is as follows: Regardless of who may be in power, Nemet Penakhly [not further specified] has been criticized by the government. How long will that situation be maintained? Thank you.

[Aliyev] I fully agree that the captain of a ship must be the last person to abandon his vessel. The ship named

Admiral Nakhimov was involved in an incident close to [name indistinct] in the Black Sea in 1986. Several people were killed. The captain saved himself. We brought him to account at the time and [words indistinct]. In view of this, [words indistinct]. However, I do not wish to draw a parallel between a ship and the state. I believe that Nemet Panakhly was appointed by the communist regime in the past. He was also appointed by our new regime. I believe that his appointment by the communist regime and by our new regime was unjust. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Ozdemir Aliyev, representing UMUD ULKE [COUNTRY OF HOPE].

[Aliyev] Mr. Aliyev, can you comment on the idea of the establishment of a state council after President Elchibey returns to Baku? Can you also explain whether or not the establishment of a state council can resolve the situation in Gyandzha?

[Aliyev] You are aware that I do not wish to explain my views on the way the government will decide to solve its problems. We shall talk with Elchibey after he returns to Baku. There may be several ways. An indirect approach may also be adopted to solve the problems. However, I believe that commenting on the matter is inappropriate at the present time.

[Announcer] Sabit Mamedov, representing the newspaper EDEBIYAT [LITERATURE].

[Mamedov] Mr. Aliyev, our people are experiencing a difficult time. [passage indistinct] As a journalist, I wish to ask the following: Will all the developments that have taken place lead to a change in the Republic's state policy? The entire world is concerned on that matter. Whether a change will take place is another matter. However, if a change will not take place, then [words indistinct]. My second question is related to the arms in the hands of the people [words indistinct]. A change will occur if the National Assembly fails to adopt a decision for the collection of the arms. Can you comment on that matter?

[Aliyev] I wish to reply to your question by reiterating what I said in the National Assembly when I was elected chairman of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet. I have worked to contribute toward the effort made to develop and strengthen Azerbaijan as an independent and democratic republic. I will continue to do so at the present time and in the future. That is my political line. There cannot be anything else. A question on the direction the political situation will take is unnecessary. Azerbaijan is an independent country, which is determined to uphold democratic principles. A legal and democratic government must be established in Azerbaijan. A democratic society has to be established on the basis of global and humanitarian values. Azerbaijan must join the civilized world. My work will be aimed at realizing these principles.

Your [words indistinct]. It is true that there are many weapons in the possession of the people in Azerbaijan, particularly in Baku. Regrettably, we have received reports during the past few days that the state's arms have been supplied to many groups. We have been informed of that situation by the Interior Ministry. The arms of the Interior Ministry and the Defense Ministry have been supplied to various groups. That is a very dangerous situation. Considering the live coverage of this press conference, I wish to appeal to all the armed men, to those who have arms in their possession, to remind them that no one stands to gain from possessing arms. No one can play with arms. Our people are in a serious situation. Arms must be laid down or handed over to the state organs. We have to draw closer together and find a peaceful way to solve problems. Undoubtedly, the state will take the measures it needs to collect these arms.

[Announcer] Mubariz Mavsim ogly, representing the newspaper YENI AZERBAIJAN, [NEW AZERBAIJAN].

[Mavsim ogly] Mr. Aliyev, I have two questions, the first of which is as follows: A peace initiative has been made by influential countries in the world to end the tragic war in Nagorno- Karabakh. The so-called Nagorno-Karabakh Republic has also signed the document that has been drawn up in that regard. However, an attack was launched on Agdam after that document was signed. Several countries in the world have [words indistinct] and tried to assess the tragic situation in Azerbaijan. Can you comment on that state of affairs? My second question is related to a report that has leaked from the press and other media. It said that Surat Guseynov is realizing Russia's plans in Azerbaijan and tries to have Russia occupy Azerbaijan once again. Can you comment on that? Is Surat Guseynov realizing Russia's policy?

[Aliyev] Let me reply to your first question as follows: We cannot control the way foreign countries assess the situation in Azerbaijan. The media organs in every country are free. What can we do in that regard? Regarding your second question, I wish to say that I have no information on Surat Guseynov's effort to have Azerbaijan reoccupied by Russia. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Seyyad Anil, representative of the newspaper [name indistinct].

[Anil] Mr. Aliyev, we are anxious to establish how the former group in government will help you correct the present situation.

[Aliyev] I believe in the people very much. That is my nature. I believe that each and every honest and conscientious person, who loves his people, must contribute toward the effort made to correct the present situation, regardless of the group he belongs to. Therefore, I have no doubt that everyone will adopt a conscientious approach and move to correct this state of affairs.

[Announcer] Ethem Mustafayev, representing the newspaper TURKIYE.

[Mustafayev] According to the information we have received from the Turkish Radio and Television Network, Abulfaz Elchibey called Acting Prime Minister Erdal Inonu and asked for Turkey's support. He also called for international support. Can you assess his initiative in that regard? Thank you.

[Aliyev] You are aware that President Elchibey can contact the head of state of any country. He is the president of the Republic. Whether he is in Baku, Gyandzha, or Kelepli makes no difference. That is natural. Meanwhile, President Suleyman Demirel, Speaker of Parliament Husamettin Cindoruk, Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin, and Acting Prime Minister Erdal Inonu called me several times. The Turkish Government feels uneasy over the situation in Azerbaijan. We have talked on the telephone several times. I have close ties and relations with them. They feel very uneasy and hope that the situation in Azerbaijan will be quickly resolved. I believe that Elchibey has discussed the same problem with Erdal Inonu, that is, if he has called him. The matter must not be interpreted in any other way.

[Announcer] [Name indistinct] Emrah Kyzy, representing Radio Liberty.

[Emrah Kyzy] Mr. Aliyev, what happened in Baku on the night of 17-18 June? It has been reported that an act of terrorism was perpetrated against President Elchibey. Several party leaders have not ruled out the possibility of a conspiracy against them as well. According to a report I have received, a 28-member group is active in Baku. Its objective is to carry out an act of terrorism against you. These are reports circulating in Baku. Who is responsible for preparing acts of terrorism? My second question is as follows: Where are Surat Guseynov's units? The information I have indicates that they are maintaining their positions. Meanwhile, it is common knowledge that the members of the Azerbaijan People's Front have armed themselves against Surat Guseynov's units. The two sides are prepared to put up an armed resistance against each other. President Elchibey is in Nakhichevan. Talks are being held on the question of authority between the two sides. Who will be responsible for an outbreak of clashes and for its serious outcome? Who is responsible for Azerbaijan's future at the present time? Thank you.

[Aliyev] We do not have any information regarding preparations for a terrorist attack on President Elchibey on the night of 17 - 18 June. Abulfez Elchibey left Baku that night. I was informed of his departure after he left. We [words indistinct]. A terrorist attack would not have achieved its objective because Elchibey is very effectively protected. Regarding the information on the activities of other terrorist groups, I wish to say that I have received reports that terrorist activities are being prepared against me. Certain groups are preparing for such an action. I have received reports in that regard from several sources. However, I do not want to run away. [applause]

Anyone involved in acts of terrorism will betray his own conscience. Acts of terrorism will never be forgiven. I have arrived here when a serious situation exists for the people. I wish to help the people remove the grave situation in the country. I will be here until the last drop of my blood is shed. [applause]

In accordance with the talks I had with Surat Guseynov on 16 and 17 June, his military units have maintained their positions until yesterday. However, we have received information that several units have moved toward Baku. I have just been informed that [words indistinct].

Let me reply to your last question on who will be responsible if agitation and confusion breaks out and if acts of terrorism take place. Abulfaz Elchibey is the president of Azerbaijan. He is also the commander in chief. He is responsible for the situation wherever he may be. However, he must [words indistinct]. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] [name indistinct], representing the Voice of America.

[VOA correspondent] Ever since Abulfaz Elchibey and the democratic forces came to power, [words indistinct], but later developments proved [words indistinct]. Do you blame Elchibey for coming to power the way he has or do you trust his ability and allow him to remain as president?

[Aliyev] You know I support the law, the republic's Constitution, and justice. I urge all the people to comply with them. The people elected Elchibey president a year ago. I must respect their decision. Whether I like him or not is another issue.

[Unidentified correspondent] That must be taken up so that the parliament might become aware of it. [passage indistinct] But Surat Guseynov has [words indistinct]. Isn't it true that using this approach to be appointed prime minister will [words indistinct]? Most probably, he has expressed the wish to become prime minister. As well as politics, the moral and ethical norms must also be considered.

[Aliyev] I do not wish to discuss that issue. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Ehram Mamedov, representing [name indistinct].

[Mamedov] You know about the incidents in Lenkoran. The television has not mentioned them, but several newspapers, including SEHER [Morning], AZADLYG [Freedom], and [name indistinct] have. Can you comment on the incidents in Lenkoran?

[Aliyev] I have no detailed information on the incidents in Lenkoran. I have concerned myself with the incidents in Karabakh and Gyandzha.

[Announcer] Azer Azizov, representing HURRIYET [Freedom].

[Azizov] You are the leader of the New Azerbaijan Party. You have been appointed to serve the state. Does that mean your party has come to power?

[Aliyev] I am the leader of the New Azerbaijan Party, but I [words indistinct].

[Azizov] My second question is: Several people were killed or wounded in the bloody clashes in many areas caused by [words indistinct]. Can you comment on these incidents as the head of the republic's legislative body?

[Aliyev] Arbitrary activity has taken place and laws have been violated in various parts of the republic. The way I see all this as the head of the legislative body is: I definitely see them as [word indistinct]. This must be obstructed. It should have been obstructed long ago. This is the outcome of the slow pace of work carried out in the past.

[Announcer] The last question is from Amil Adiyev, representing the newspaper MUHALEFET [Opposition].

[Adiyev] You have said you will try to obstruct the confrontation. We have been informed that Surat Guseynov has dispatched military units to Karabakh. But the television has linked that issue with Tamerlan Karayev. [passage indistinct]

[Aliyev] We should not [words indistinct] and avoid being misled by rumor.

[Announcer] Thank you. That is the end of this news conference.

Further on News Conference

OW2006184493 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Russian 1225 GMT 20 June 93

[News conference by Geydar Aliyev, chairman of the Supreme Soviet, with foreign and domestic correspondents in Baku—live]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Bakikhanova] Yutakim Bakikhanova of the RITUAN magazine. [Bakikhanova speaks in Azeri, then switches to Russian] I have had very many ordeals these last few days. I would like to ask for your permission to be present at the next session of either the National Assembly or the Supreme Soviet. I have much to say not only to my people but to the people of all the world about what went on during the one year and the few days when Abulfaz Elchibey headed the republic of Azerbaijan. I want to tear off the veils blinding not only the eyes of all the people of Azerbaijan, but also those of his supporters, the blinded members of the Popular People's Front. I am asking you to grant me such a permission.

[Aliyev] I understand you, I understand you. You have no question, I understand you.

[Bakikhanova] When will I get the permission?

[Aliyev] I understand you. [Turning to another reporter in the hall] I am answering in Russian because she has addressed me in Russian. First, I am asking everyone to ask questions. I do not think that there is a [word indistinct] here for some kind of presentations. You are to ask questions. Second, I will take your request into consideration. Unquestionably.

[Bakikhanova] Thank you. I would ask you to consider it swiftly.

[Aliyev] All right, all right.

[Bakikhanova] Please excuse me. I am leaving due to my health condition.

[Lapaitis] RESPUBLIKA newspaper of the Republic of Lithuania. Correspondent Richard Lapaitis. The Lithuanian readers are very interested in the absence of Abulfaz Elchibey. Someone might have already asked this question, but I would like you to clarify this: What was the manner of his departure, why did he leave, and is his absence temporary or already a reason for resignation? Thank you.

[Aliyev] I have already answered this question. He left Baku without warning anyone and without consulting anyone—I mean state officials. Actually, he left without our knowledge. I talked to him yesterday and asked him to return to Baku, and he gave me no definite answer. He explains his absence by saying that his consideration was the need to insure his own safety and second, the need to prevent the possibility of bloodshed and civil war. I told him yesterday, and I can tell you today that the president is the symbol of state, the head of state, and the commander in chief, and must be with his people under the harshest of conditions, under the most extreme conditions, and in the harshest of situations. This is my opinion. [passage omitted]

[Yuryev] ITM television company. Oleg Yuryev. A process of squeezing out communists out of Azerbaijan's political life has been under way here for the past several years, same as in many other countries of the former Soviet Union. Democratic forces personified by President Elchibey have come to power. Your return, you being a former leader of the communist party of this republic and a member of the politburo of the CPSU—does it mean the return of past values? Does it mean that democracy as seen by the Popular Front failed to prove itself? Does it mean the return of communist to power here?

[Aliyev] You know, first democracy is a value common to all humanity. It cannot be a monopoly of some groups.

What is more, there is no judge who could determine who belongs to democrats and who to antidemocrats. Anyone can declare himself to be a democrat without being such. Yet someone may declare someone else to be a nondemocrat, an antidemocrat, and a conservative while being more of an antidemocratic person himself. I believe that today, such a division of society into former communists, democrats, or some other people is not a very healthy tendency. Azerbaijan has acquired its independence as a state. All citizens of Azerbaijan have equal rights, and everyone has the opportunity to exercise these rights. Who belonged to what party in the past? This has no significance whatsoever. The issue is civic duty, honesty, and commitment to values common to all humanity. The issue is democracy in the broad sense of the word. I do not think that democracy belongs only to the Popular People's Front in Azerbaijan. Democracy belongs to all the people, and every person who has democratic convictions can be politically active both today and tomorrow. No former communist is forbidden to do so. [passage omitted]

[Zotov] Georgiy Zotov, from SOBESEDNIK. Mister speaker, I have two questions but very short ones. First question: Do you see Mutalibov returning to the government of Azerbaijan and any kind of cooperation with him? Second: Do you see the possibility of Surat Guseynov entering Baku with his troops after all? Thank you.

[Aliyev] The return of Mutalibov to Azerbaijan—well, I do not know what has this to do with anything. Mutalibov himself resigned his post as a president, and by his own announcement. If he wants to return to Azerbaijan, let him return. Any citizen of Azerbaijan may return to Azerbaijan. I have also stayed in Moscow in exile in my time. True, they would not let me return here, and my numerous attempts were fruitless. Eventually I managed to return to Azerbaijan in spite of all the obstacles, and as you know I have been living in Nakhichevan for a long time. Thus, I do not see any question here, and do not understand the meaning of your question.

As to whether Suret will enter Baku with his troops or not—we are taking all the measures to prevent him from doing so. [passage omitted; next reporter is announced in Azeri by unidentified announcer in conference hall]

[Reporter] Dear Geydar Aliyev. The Baku Information Company receives a large volume of foreign press daily. We would like to offer you a review on Azerbaijan and about current events, translated into Russian and Azeri. If our offer is of interest, we would be glad to cooperate with you. Thank you.

[Aliyev] Thank you for your offer. I will definitely make use of it. [passage omitted; the next reporter, identified by announcer in conference hall as Anatol Levin, asks a question in English, followed by a Russian translation by an interpreter]

[Levin] I have two questions: If President Elchibey does not return to Baku, should the parliament vote for his impeachment? Second question: Has Surat Guseynov mentioned in his talks with you a demand for the post of prime minister? Thank you.

[Aliyev] If not.... [pauses] As president, Abulfaz Elchibey must return to Baku. As for what the parliament will do, whether it will choose impeachment or not—I do not know, but I do not support impeachment; however, I do not speak for the parliament. As to what posts Surat Guseynov asks for, wants, or demands—I think that there is no need to talk about this today. [passage omitted; announcer in conference hall announces next reporter in Azeri]

[Reporter] Mr. Aliyev, I have talked to Surat Guseynov's press secretary....

[Aliyev, interrupting] I cannot hear you.

[Reporter] I talked to Surat Guseynov's press secretary today....

[Aliyev, interrupting] Huh?

[Reporter] I talked today to Surat Guseynov's press secretary, and I asked him, among other things, about the rumor concerning Mutalibov, and so on. He said that Guseynov purports.... [pauses] that Guseynov does not purport to reinstate any concrete leader or get a post for himself, that he does not purport to reinstate Mutalibov the communist, but that he wants to gather the most influential and respected politicians and possibly create—although he says that this must be decided by the parliament—create something like the Georgian state council, some kind of organ that would unite the most influential politicians during the transitional period. Would you accept such an idea?

[Aliyev] You see, Surat Guseynov has not told me about this. I do not know how dependable your information is from his press secretary, so I do not want to answer. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Islam Guriyev of Moscow Radio.

[Guriyev] Geydar Aliyevich, how do you appraise the current situation in Azerbaijan with the president being absent, and what will you do if the president tarries in Kelek indefinitely? Thank you.

[Aliyev] I think that I answered your question at the very beginning and in answering other questions—that is, questions from other reporters. But since you are asking, let me repeat myself again. The current situation in Azerbaijan is extremely complicated, quite critical.... [pauses] And I cannot give you another appraisal. On the one hand, I repeat—because of the events in Nagorno-Karabakh in the direction of Agdam, and on the other hand, because of events in Gyandzha and their consequences and because of the absence of a president in Baku—these three factors complicate the situation in Azerbaijan. As to—what was it you said? If the president returns, or what? Yes, if he tarries—well, then we will think what to do. [laughter; passage omitted]

Aliyev Interviewed on Elchibey, Crisis

LD2006205193 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 20 Jun 93

[Report on interview with Geydar Aliyev, Supreme Soviet chairman, by correspondent Mais Mamedov in Aliyev's office; from the "Itogi" news program—recorded]

[Excerpts] The overall situation in Azerbaijan remains rather unclear. One thing, however, is clear; the crisis in Azerbaijan, that at times resembled a nightmare thriller, evolved in line with the classic scenario. It involved not just external causes, but also an economic decline, as well as political blunders committed by the People's Front in its first year in power. Here with the details is our Baku correspondent Mais Mamedov.

[Mamedov] The past week was probably the most difficult and unpredictable in the entire modern history of Azerbaijan. [passage omitted]

[Aliyev] Azerbaijan's President Abulfaz Elchibey left Baku in total secrecy, without notifying anyone in advance. I parted with him at midnight, and an hour and a half later he left. He had not told me anything, and, incidentally, neither did I get any impression that he was about to do this. One can suppose that he took the decision on the spur of the moment, because after the meeting with me he had received other people, including some from the People's Front.

[Mamedov] Have you not got a personal opinion about why the president did leave the republic's capital after all?

[Aliyev] Well, you know, I generally do not like making guesses and drawing hasty conclusions. I believe the president himself will tell us all about it. Actually, the president did state, through Secretary of State Ali Kerimov, that he did it in order to ensure his personal safety and to avert bloodshed. Well, I told him yesterday that it follows that he does not care about other people's safety. It would mean that bloodshed is bad if he is around, but what if it occurs when he is away? Therefore, I am not going to draw any conclusions at this stage.

[Mamedov] What do you see as a way out of this critical situation?

[Aliyev] There is only one way out, and it is national accord, mutual understanding, negotiations, and consultations. The most important thing is negotiations and mutual understanding with Surat Guseynov, because at present he has quite a lot of military force on his side, and one cannot ignore this. This is what I am dealing with at present. I am conducting consultations with many political leaders and respected figures. Through certain channels I am maintaining contact with him, in order to find a worthy way out of this situation, a way out without any complications and bloodshed.

Aliyev: Elchibey in Ordubad, Nakhichevan

LD1806161493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1540 GMT 18 Jun 93

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondents Sevindzh Abdullayeva and Viktor Shulman and AZERTAC correspondent Ziyadkhan Gasanov]

[Text] Baku, 18 Jun—President Abulfaz Elchibey of Azerbaijan is currently in Ordubad Rayon of the Nakhichevan autonomous republic, Azerbaijani Supreme Soviet Chairman Geydar Aliyev this afternoon informed deputies of the National Assembly, in whose work an interval has now been announced. He also reported that "we have managed to ascertain that the presidential plane had been prepared in good time for the head of state's departure from Baku airport and that two directions had been considered: Nakhichevan or Istanbul."

The parliamentary head said that he still did not understand why Elchibey had opted for this step. "During the conversation we had virtually on the eve of his departure, the president was not even considering such a thing. He was aware that I had had a telephone conversation with Surat Guseynov, former commander of the national army corps, who had promised to refrain from using force for another day," Geydar Aliyev told the deputies. He asserted that the head of state had also been briefed on the intentions of Azerbaijani Ministry of Defense servicemen not to open fire today, and also on the fact that attempts to find a peaceful way out of the crisis would be continued this morning.

Now, in the absence of the president, Geydar Aliyev declared, it is important not to lose control over the republic. He said this was the main aim of the present session.

A number of deputies cast doubt upon the expediency from the legal point of view of the fact that Geydar Aliyev had announced in advance (?in his television address) that he was assuming supreme powers at this difficult time for the country. They said that "this is premature, since the president has not resigned and is within the confines of the territory of Azerbaijan."

In answer to this, the head of the parliament said that "no one had any intention of removing the president and seizing his powers." The seriousness of the matter was not that the president had left Baku, but that he had not notified the other leaders of the republic of his intention, as is proper in such cases. Geydar Aliyev agreed with a number of deputies to hear those who had met with Abdulfaz Elchibey during his last hours in Baku.

Azerbaijan's Secretary of State Ali Kerimov told the deputies of the president's participation in the work of the Assembly of the National Front of Azerbaijan (NFA), which was held literally the day before he left by air for Nakhichevan. He said the president asserted that the circumstances had faced him with a dilemma:

whether to use force to prevent Surat Guseynov from invading Baku, or whether to yield to pressure to avoid a fratricidal clash. The secretary of state said Elchibey had chosen the second option.

It has also become known that the chairman of the NFA's executive committee, Faradzh Kuliyev, who took part in the work of the Assembly of the NFA, also left by air for Nakhichevan with the president, escorted by bodyguards.

Says Elchibey 'Must Return to Baku'

LD2006165493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1642 GMT 20 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Sevindzh Abdullayeva and Viktor Shulman]

[Text] Baku June 20 TASS—"Azerbaijan's president must return to Baku. As a symbol of statehood, he should remain with his people in a time of crisis", Azeri parliament chairman Geydar Aliyev told a news conference on Sunday evening.

Aliyev believes that by staying in Nakhichevan, where the elected post-soviet president fled to avoid bloodshed and for his personal safety, Elchibey cannot fully perform his duties as head of state and commander of the national armed forces. The parliament head reiterated that he had not assumed additional powers in the absence of Elchibey, although he had been authorized by the latter in a telephone conversation to take over as acting president.

According to Aliyev, the situation in the embattled Transcaucasian republic remains rather tense, which is largely caused by the president's flight to Nakhichevan, the military revolt led by Surat Guseynov and the Armenian offensive in Azerbaijan's Agdam district.

The parliament chairman confirmed that Guseynov, a former army colonel demoted this year in a dispute over the Nagorno-Karabakh fighting, had expressed intention to take one of the key posts in the country so that he could pull it out of the current crisis. Aliyev reported that, according to his information, the rebel forces were continuing their march on Baku. However, he stressed, the republic's leaders "are doing their best to prevent this course of developments".

Aliyev dismissed rumours saying he was holding political consultations with a view to form a coalition government. The main task is to pull the republic out of the crisis, and the consultations were being held exactly for that purpose, he stressed.

Aliyev's 18 Jun Appeal on Gyandzha, Elchibey's Departure

NC1806135793 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1000 GMT 18 Jun 93

["Text" of "appeal to the Azerbaijani people" by Geydar Aliyev, chairman of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet, in Baku on 18 June—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed fellow countrymen, a very tense and complex situation has emerged in Azerbaijan during the past few days. One of the main reasons for this state of affairs is the bloody incidents in Gyandzha on 4 June. Fratricide took place in Gyandzha on that day. Blood was shed, crimes were committed, and people were killed. Our esteemed fellow countrymen were killed. That is a tragic incident. Regrettably, Azerbaijan's state organs failed to make the necessary political assessment of the incident. They also failed to take the necessary measures. Consequently the situation worsened. A detailed account on the nature of that problem is unnecessary. A crime was committed and innocent people were killed. I wish to remember through the radio and television all the citizens who were killed in Gyandzha. I also wish to convey my condolences to their families and relatives.

The incidents have caused indignation in the nearby rayons and, in fact, in Azerbaijan as a whole. Measures were taken to investigate the incidents. However, they failed to yield a result. The incidents were debated during a session of the Azerbaijan National Assembly held on 9 June. However, the necessary result was not achieved. The only outcome was the establishment of the deputies' investigation committee [words indistinct]. Many organizations, political establishments, and individual people, including political officials and intellectuals, assessed the incidents as soon as they took place. They expressed their opinion on them. I have done so as well. And, I wish to reiterate that those who have caused the bloody incidents, that is, those who have organized and took part in the fratricide, must definitely be brought to account before the laws.

It must be clearly pointed out that the tension has not been removed since 4 June. On the contrary, it has increased every day. I was invited to travel from Nakhichevan to Baku to take part in the effort made to investigate the incidents, alleviate the tension and the complex situation, and resolve the problems on 9 June. I arrived in Baku on that day. I have been actively taking part in the work carried out on that since then. My main objective as a citizen of Azerbaijan is to contribute toward the effort made to quickly remove the tense situation, investigate the matter in an open, free, and cautious atmosphere, and uncover the problems. I have held several talks. You are aware that I visited Gyandzha from 12 to 14 June. I held talks with people's deputy Surat Guseynov, who is the head of the military unit in Gyandzha. I also held talks with his bureaucrats, officers, and men. And, with the little influence I have, I made an

effort to have the problem resolved through peaceful talks. A very tragic situation now exists. However, I wish to reiterate that the problems must be resolved through peaceful talks and reconciliation. In view of this, all the sides must adopt an objective approach, correctly assess the problems, and avoid agitation.

The problem that has created confusion in Azerbaijan can only be resolved through common sense. I am working to achieve that. Many people are working together with me in an objective way. Nevertheless, the desired results have not been achieved yet. The experts in the deputies' investigation committee have not yet come up with results.

Regarding the problem, Surat Guseynov and his colleagues have blamed the Republic's leaders. They have blamed the commanders of the military unit which attacked their men. Meanwhile, the officials, deputies, and executive officials have claimed that they are not to blame. I do not wish to express an opinion on that matter. However, Surat Guseynov and his supporters have accused Azerbaijan's leaders, military officers, and state officials of being responsible, and demanded that they be punished. President Elchibey and the Azerbaijan National Assembly worked on that matter to a certain extent. Isa Kamberov, chairman of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet, and Prime Minister Panakh Guseynov resigned. In accordance with President Abulfaz Elchibey's decree, Minister of Internal Affairs Allakhverdiyev, Minister of National Security Takhmazov, and Minister of Defense Dadash Rizayev were relieved of their responsibilities yesterday.

However, the people in Gyandzha, who claim that they have been attacked, believe that the leaders of the state are guilty. They have demanded President Elchibey's resignation several times. They have not abandoned their demand thus far.

We believe that the problem must be investigated in an objective way. We neither wish to blame or punish any innocent person nor exonerate anyone who is guilty. In view of this, we are now trying to establish a specific period of time in which the problems will be objectively and correctly investigated—without any influence on the process—and the necessary measures will be taken.

I must admit that the state leaders have been very slow in investigating the problems and taking measures to remove the tension. Undoubtedly, that has increased the existing tension. Gyandzha city has been under the control of Surat Guseynov's military forces since 4 June. Several rayons around Gyandzha city are also under their full control. They believe that their demands are just. And, considering the fact that they have not been met, they declared that they intend to broaden their military activities. Furthermore, they reiterated their demand for President Abulfaz Elchibey's resignation several times. In fact, they threatened to carry out military operations to close down several bridges.

In these conditions, we found enough time in our recent talks to highlight the situation somewhat. But our time has been exhausted. I do not wish to detail that issue. I contacted Gyandzha to exchange views with Surat Guseynov several times yesterday and the day before. I also held talks with President Abulfaz Elchibey and other officials. I tried to find a way to remove the tension. But no positive result was achieved.

I held talks with Surat Guseynov yesterday. Other officials also held talks with him. A meeting was held on the problem last night. Etibar Mamedov, a member of the Azerbaijani National Assembly, and Refig Kuliyev, [title indistinct], attended that meeting. We had lengthy talks. We agreed with Surat Guseynov that the talks should be maintained. We have been occupied with talks today. We are trying to find a flawless way to remove the situation.

I met Abulfaz Elchibey from about 2300 to midnight last night. We agreed to continue our talks today. Later, I contacted Surat Guseynov. He agreed our talks should continue today. It was then 0200 or 0300. After 0200, I went home. I was informed an hour later that President Elchibey had left Baku. We immediately gathered in our office to investigate. We established that Elchibey conferred with the Azerbaijani People's Front Executive Council, that is, with about 25 Council members, after we left his office around midnight. State Secretary Ali Kerimov attended the meeting. But we have not been told what was discussed. According to our information, Elchibey went home later. He went to Baku airport and left in an aircraft [samoliot]. He met several representatives for an hour and left for an unknown destination. We do not know where he is.

Why has Elchibey taken such a step? We were with him two hours before he did. We find it strange he said nothing to any of his colleagues, gave no instruction, and sought no advice. We met after we were informed about that. We held meetings until morning. We tried to establish the reason. The presidential press service reported that Kerimov was the last person to talk with Elchibey. He said Elchibey decided to leave to guarantee his safety and prevent bloodshed in Baku and elsewhere in Azerbaijan.

A different measure could have been taken if President Elchibey had informed his colleagues, transferred his duties, and explained why he was taking that step. There was no need for such a step. But what's done is done. Undoubtedly, I cannot explain Elchibey's move. The people elected him president of the republic. [words indistinct] the people. No matter how complex the situation, he must participate in the effort to improve it. He must not withdraw. His move indicates he has withdrawn and abandoned his colleagues in these conditions. Explaining that approach is impossible.

Undoubtedly, the people are confused by the situation. So, we have agreed that I should appear on television to explain things as far as possible. We regard the spirit of

military discipline as one of the main principles in our life. We must heed that principle. Considering that, I have explained exactly what has occurred.

The reason forcing Elchibey to take that step was not the incidents in Gyandzha alone, but also the emergence of tension in Baku because of those incidents. Tension emerged in various areas and rayons in Azerbaijan. No one stands to gain from it. It will not be good for Azerbaijan and the republic's people. After informing you of all these problems, I wish to appeal to all the republic's people, our brothers, sisters, and all our citizens, to urge them to unite, exercise patience, act cautiously, and find the way to remove the grave situation to prevent the recurrence of another bloody incident.

I informed Surat Guseynov often when I met him that the bloodshed in Gyandzha on 4 June cannot be forgiven. Those who caused that bloodshed must be held responsible. That is exactly what will happen. But bloodshed must not recur. Everyone must understand that. Regrettably, several individuals, forgetting the people's general interest, have moved to exploit the situation and put their personal ambitions first so as to achieve their objectives. Undoubtedly, that is [word indistinct]. No one can agree to that situation.

Everyone is under pressure. Everyone is in a difficult situation. [name indistinct] may be in more difficulty. But we are all enduring a difficult time. Our people are confronting a tragedy. The war with Armenia continues. Part of our territory has been occupied. Bloody battles are being fought near Agdam and Baku confronts incidents daily. Workers are dying. Our citizens, soldiers, and sons are being killed. Destruction is occurring. Coming one after the other, events have strengthened the tension in Azerbaijan. You must act in an honest and patriotic spirit to conscientiously use all your resources to remove the difficult situation.

Some circles are reportedly using the confusion to prepare for disruption. I cannot say how credible these reports are. Some foreign forces wish to disrupt stability and cause confusion in Baku. They wish to use the wave of indignation to get [word indistinct]. They want to get what they are after. Our foreign resources are not few. A very serious situation exists in our republic. The forces that seek to interfere in our republic's affairs are many. Everyone must realize that. Regardless of whether these reports are right or wrong, I wish to point to the threat and inform you about it. No one must do the wrong thing. No one must embark on an adventure. We must establish stability in Baku and in all the other areas in Azerbaijan. We must restore human relations and respect each other. Again, I want to turn to the people of Gyandzha, the people in the surrounding rayons, and the entire people of Azerbaijan to urge them to act with appreciation, reconciliation, and common sense.

I have discussed all this with Surat Guseynov and I have asked him to act with caution. His stance is justified, because an injustice was done to his unit. A crime was committed. But these problems must be solved legally, not through force.

I wish to reiterate that we must unite. We must concentrate all our forces in the same direction. I wish to reiterate the views I expressed in the National Assembly two days ago. We all need them. Our elders, respected people, intellectuals, renowned individuals, and figures who are influential in various fields must act with positive intentions and help us to remove the grave situation. I appeal to you all to urge you to act with caution.

There is a wave of anxiety in Baku that troops will enter the city and destruction will take place. Some people are afraid and want to leave Baku. No, that is unnecessary. I believe our brothers will not move against each other. I believe brothers will not fire on each other. I believe brothers will not shed each other's blood. We will be disturbed by the painful memory of the bloodshed and the wounds in Gyandzha for many years. I believe all of you will regard these views as advice and cherish similar feelings. I also believe we will remove the grave situation.

Things are grave in Agdam. There have been casualties among the people. God bless the souls of all those who have died in Agdam. I convey deep condolences to their families and relatives. But our fighters, troops, and every person who defends his homeland must try to prevent the further occupation of our territory. We must create the conditions required to gradually liberate our territory and establish peace and security for our people.

I wish to conclude by again urging you to unite, exercise patience, and act cautiously. I hope every citizen in Gyandzha has heard what I have said. And I hope they will act accordingly. I believe the talks we will have will yield positive results and we can remove the tension in and around Gyandzha through mutual agreement.

We do not know where President Abulfaz Elchibey is. But we will try to contact him. Because Elchibey is no longer in Baku, and has cut his ties with the state organs, as chairman of the Supreme Soviet and in keeping with the Azerbaijani Constitution, I assume power and responsibility, and hereby declare this to all of Azerbaijan. And I hope that the patriotic people will help me in this duty, and we will together extricate ourselves from this situation.

Thank your for your attention. I pray for better days for all of you. Thank you.

Elchibey Makes Statement From Nakhichevan

TA2106070793 Ankara TRT Television Network in Turkish 0500 GMT 21 Jun 93

[Report by Suleyman Cil in Nakhichevan]

[Text] Abulfaz Elchibey has made a statement in Nakhichevan. Elchibey started his statement by saying: Dear citizens, I am appealing you at a very critical time which calls for great responsibility.

Elchibey's statement, in which he commented on the future of the state, the fate of the nation, and the latest developments endangering democracy, sounded like a call for help. Elchibey stated: The people of Azerbaijan are facing a military coup, which runs counter to Azerbaijani history, culture, and democracy. A group of irresponsible people is employing illegal military units to perpetrate a coerced coup. According to initial information, certain political forces have supported the coup both covertly and overtly and have taken part in it. This poses a great danger to the fate and history of the nation. We traversed this road already in 1920, and everybody knows the results.

Elchibey later summarized the political developments in his country during recent years. Elchibey stated that in the last five years, Azerbaijan secured its place as a democratic republic in the international arena and added that the developing democracy disturbed some forces in the country. Elchibey said that with the support of some deputies, an insurrection was launched in Gyandzha, weapons were used against government forces, and great losses were inflicted on both civilians and soldiers.

Elchibey stated that the EC, the United States, the Russian Federation, Turkey, and several other countries have labeled the incidents in Gyandzha a rebellion and have supported him as the legal president of Azerbaijan. Elchibey remarked that the insurgents are being supported from the outside and added that they are against a peaceful resolution of the Armenia issue and against an agreement with regard to the Karabakh situation.

Elchibey stated that he was informed that certain forces in the Russian Federation are supporting the military coup, adding that he is certain that the democratic Russian Government will stop this.

Elchibey said that he had exploited every democratic path to prevent the situation from turning into a civil war and added that these efforts further encouraged the insurgents. Elchibey said Azerbaijan is on the brink of civil war because some high-level officials did not support him, adding that he had left the country [as heard] to prevent this.

In the last part of his statement, Elchibey said that he was elected by the people and that he considers the will of the Azerbaijani people and not the illegal military forces to be the real power. Elchibey stressed that he has not resigned and added that the civilized world opposes the annihilation of democracy in this way and that he will not permit this to happen.

Elchibey warned Baku officials not to exceed their authorities and called on the citizens to thoroughly assess the situation and be attentive.

Says He Remains 'Lawful Leader'

LD1906202193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2000 GMT 19 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Sevindzh Abdullayeva and Viktor Shulman]

[Text] Baku June 19 TASS—President of Azerbaijan Abulfaz Elchibey who fled the republican capital two days ago told reporters on Saturday in his native village in Nakhichevan that he remains the lawful leader of the country.

In a message received by TASS from the Nakhichevan branch of the Popular Front of Azerbaijan late on Saturday Elchibey was quoted as telling reporters in the village of Kelek in the Ardubadsk region of Nakhichevan, an enclave cut off from Azerbaijan by Armenia, that he "did not resign, remains the lawfully elected president and continues to govern the state".

However, according to Elchibey's supporters in Nakhichevan the president said nothing about his intention to return to Baku. He left the city in order to prevent further bloodshed and for safety reasons, according to the official statement of the presidential press service.

Supporters of Elchibey from the Popular Front said at a press conference in Baku on Saturday that the decision of the president to leave Baku was "the only right one in the existing conditions" and that an attempt on his life was prepared.

They added that "the president did not resign and his powers cannot be transferred to anyone", a clear referrence to Geydar Aliyev, former communist boss of Azerbaijan who was recently elected parliament chairman.

The Popular Front called on the people to protect the statehood of Azerbaijan by peaceful methods, to be vigilant and avoid provocations.

Says 'in Touch With Baku'

NC1906133393 Baku TURAN in English 1302 GMT 19 Jun 93

[Text] Baku, June 19 (TURAN)—Today TURAN News Agency managed to contact by phone the assistant of Azerbaijan president Oktay Gasymov who is together with the president in the village of Kilik of Ordubadskiy district of Nakhichevan.

According to Gasymov the presidents state of health is excellent, he is in a good mood. Gasymov also informed that the president Elchibey keeps in touch with Baku and controls the situation in Azerbaijan.

The assistant of the president Gasymov said that the question of the president returning to the capital is a

matter of time. He confirmed that the reason of Elchibeys departure from Baku was a threat of his security and a wish to bring to nothing the reality of armed conflict in Baku.

Left Due to Attempt on Life

LD1906120193 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1100 GMT 19 Jun 93

[Text] The theme of the unexpected departure of Azerbaijan President Abulfaz Elchibey from the republic's capital for Nakhichevan dominates today's press. In an interview with the newspaper AZADLYK, Gajiyev, a republican state counsellor, claims that, according to his information, some forces in the government which had sold themselves to the rebels tried, the day before yesterday, to arrest the president and made an attempt on his life. This forced him to leave.

Incidentally, there is still no information about the return of Elchibey to Baku, which he spoke about in his telephone conversation with Heydar Aliyev.

'Surrounded by Heavy Security'

TA1806202593 Ankara Turkiye Radyolari Network in Turkish 2000 GMT 18 Jun 93

[Text] Our correspondent in Igdir, Serdar Unsal reports from Nakhichevan that Azerbaijani President Abulfaz Elchibey who is in his birthplace Ordubadskiy is surrounded by heavy security. Security measures have been increased in Nakhichevan generally as well.

Statements on Elchibey, Aliyev Noted

People's Front Statement

NC1906191993 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 19 Jun 93

[Text] The Azerbaijan People's Front [APF] conveyed a statement to our editorial office today. It said the following:

President Abulfaz Elchibey has left Baku and is in Nakhichevan at the present time. The only reason for that unexpected development was to prevent possible fratricide in Baku. Considering the situation, the president made the right decision. However, he has not resigned. It is crystal clear that his duties cannot be transferred to anyone else.

The statement noted that the foreign scenario against Azerbaijan's state administration is gradually coming to light when a genuine opportunity has emerged for the settlement of the Karabakh problem through talks and when the administrative structures in Azerbaijan have only been recently established. It said: People of Azerbaijan, do not allow a negative situation to emerge, in which you will be confronted with the danger of losing your independence, which you have achieved only recently, and your state administration, which you are trying to establish. The APF members must be aware that certain subversive forces are prepared to cause confusion and bloodshed through their destructive activities in Baku. Act with caution and maintain your struggle in a peaceful and democratic way until the end. We urge Azerbaijan's people to rise to safeguard Azerbaijan's state order and Constitution in a peaceful way. Let us not create a threat to our national independence.

We wish to recall that this statement is a part of an APF appeal to the people.

Turkey Extends 'Full Support'

TA2006162193 Ankara TRT Television Network in Turkish 1600 GMT 20 Jun 93

[Report by Suleyman Cil in Nakhichevan]

[Text] Addressing the people of Azerbaijan, Abulfaz Elchibey reiterated that he did not resign and that he is not considering resigning. He pointed out that he does not believe that the rebels will end their action if he resigns. The rebels' aim is to take the country under their control, he said, adding that he does not want the blood of brothers to be shed. Elchibey disclosed that he left Baku because the rebels planned to raid the Presidency and shed blood.

Elchibey pointed out that he explained to the world the injustice of the Armenian attack and occupation, and that just as he was succeeding in doing that, internal chaos was created. He stressed that Azerbaijan will continue to advance in a democratic path and that nobody will be able to prevent that.

President Elchibey said that he will protect the ideal of an independent Azerbaijan at the cost of his life.

Meanwhile, through its Nakhichevan Consulate, Turkey announced that it extends full political support to Azerbaijani President Abulfaz Elchibey.

Elchibey received Consul Orhan Ertugruloglu and conferred with him for some time. A statement issued by the Consulate says that at the meeting Ertugruloglu stressed that Turkey extends full support to Elchibey, and that the Turkish Government is on the side of Azerbaijan's unity and integrity. Ertugruloglu stated that it is absolutely not legitimate for a regime that came to power through elections to be forcibly removed from office. He said that Turkey wants the problem to be resolved within a legal framework. He stressed that faits accomplis regarding this issue are unacceptable, and that democratic Western countries support Elchibey as well.

At the meeting, Abulfaz Elchibey thanked Turkey for its support. He asked Turkey to increase the aid it sends to Nakhichevan in the coming days, and to complete the power grid it is building in Nakhichevan as soon as possible.

Turkey Condemns 'Mutiny'

LD1906154193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1438 GMT 19 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Feoktistov]

[Text] Ankara June 19 TASS—Turkey denounced the "mutiny" against the lawful leadership of Azerbaijan, Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin said on Friday, adding that Ankara is greatly concerned over the attempts to oust President Abulfaz Elchibey.

Acting Prime Minister Erdal Inonu told the Social-Democratic People's Party on Friday that Baku faces a vacuum of power and it is necessary to urgently restore authority in Azerbaijan. The demands of Azeri rebel leader Surat Guseynov about the resignation of the president can be assessed as an attempt to oust legitimate authority by a mutiny.

The HURRIYET newspaper said on Saturday that Turkey and the United States are working to preserve legitimate order in Azerbaijan and support its president.

Turkish Envoy Conveys Messages to Aliyev

NC1906192893 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 19 Jun 93

[Text] Geydar Aliyev, chairman of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet, today received Altan Karamanoglu, Turkey's extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador in Azerbaijan. Karamanoglu congratulated Aliyev on the occasion of his election as the chairman of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet. He also conveyed President Suleyman Demirel's and Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin's greetings and congratulatory messages. The meeting was held in a sincere and warm atmosphere. Karamanoglu wished success to Aliyev in his responsible task, which he will perform in a difficult and complex situation. On behalf of Turkey, he said that he hoped that Aliyev will be able to remove the existing serious and difficult social situation in Azerbaijan.

On his part, Aliyev thanked Karamanoglu for conveying Demirel's and Cetin's congratulatory messages. He said that President Elchibey has left him alone in the arena by leaving Baku for Nakhichevan when a serious situation exists in the Republic. However, Aliyev added that he will use his experience and influence to remove the difficult situation.

Iranian Leaders Support Aliyev

LD1906152793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1438 GMT 19 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Oleg Kuzmin]

[Text] Teheran June 19 TASS—The latest developments in Azerbaijan caused clear-cut satisfaction in Iran. Soon after the election of ex-communist boss of Azerbaijan Geydar Aliyev as the republican parliament chairman his Iranian counterpart 'Ali Akbar Nateq-Nuri, first vice-president Hassan Habibi and Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati congratulated Aliyev with his comeback.

Habibi even proposed assistance to Baku, however did not specify of what kind. However, Iranian officials did not openly express their satisfaction over the defeat of the Popular Front of Azerbaijan.

Iranian press has been less reserved in its assessments. Both radical and conservative mass media have been for long criticising President Abulfaz Elchibey accusing him of "pro-Turkish positions, pan-Turkic attitudes and anti-religious stand". On Saturday local newspapers noted with satisfaction that Turkey was the major loser in the conflict in Azerbaijan.

Tehran believes the communist past of Aliyev should not be recalled now as he is well-known in Iran after his visits to the capital and the areas bordering on Nakhichevan of which he was the leader.

Battles for Agdam Continue

NC1906103193 Baku TURAN in English 1002 GMT 19 Jun 93

[Text] Baku June 19 (TURAN)—As Azeri Defense Ministry reported, morning June 19 military actions in Agdam and Agdera regions of Azerbaijan continued.

Armenian military forces keep holding 7 Azeri villages, seized during the offensive that started June 12. The town Agdam is in fact in siege.

In connection with the threat of sieze of Agdam the deputy chairman of the Azeri Supreme Soviet Tamerlan Karayev arrived there the day before. An extra measures on fortifying the defense of the town. As Ministry of Defense reported, during yesterdays fights there are killed and wounded among the defenders of the town.

In Agdera region Armenian forces couldn't manage to push toward region center Agdera, in spite of reinforcement received from Armenia. Among the killed Armenian soldiers there is a great number of Armenia citizen according to their documents.

Military sources inform about the going on transfer of the military equipment and live force from Armenia to Karabakh through siezed Kelbajar.

200 Residents Killed; 11 Villages Taken

NC1806161893 Baku TURAN in English 1544 GMT 18 Jun 93

[Text] Baku, June 18 (TURAN)—As TURAN Agency was informed by Army sources Armenian troops have seized 11 villages in Agdamskiy district of Azerbaijan. About 200 inhabitants were killed.

At present heavy battles around Agdamskiy town are going on. The Armenian units do not stop the attack operations in order to surround and seize the town.

As it was reported a large-scale offensive of Armenian Army to Agdamskiy from two sides began on June 12. During the last day the enemy moved forward into Azerbaijani territory 10 kilometres from the north and 15 kilometers from the south. The roads connected Agdamskiy to the rest of the republic are under intensive shelling and these actions make difficult to take the inhabitants and wounded soldiers off from the town and nearby villages.

According to the information get from official sources during the last three days the intensive transference of the military equipment, ammunition and man power to Nagorno-Karabakh from Armenia is being carried out.

Situation in Nakhichevan 'Completely Peaceful'

NC1906191893 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 19 Jun 93

[Text] How is the situation in the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic [NAR]? That was the question a [name indistinct] news agency correspondent put to Reshid Gasanov, first deputy chairman of the Nakhichevan Supreme Assembly. He replied as follows:

Regardless of the recent incidents, the situation in the NAR is completely peaceful. The situation in the border areas is stable. The passenger traffic through the NAR's borders with Turkey and Iran is continuing. The border crossings are in accordance with the simplified rules. Everyone is concerned with his own affairs. The farmers are preparing to harvest their grain and establishments are functioning.

Nakhichevan Official Denies Turkey, Iran Borders Closed

PM1806191393 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jun 93 p 3

[Untitled report from the LOGOTIP-KP News Agency Roundup]

[Text] Azerbaijan, BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY: The Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic's authorized representative in Baku has denied reports which have appeared in foreign media that Azerbaijan's borders with Iran and Turkey has been closed.

LOGOTIP-KP: The Azerbaijan-Turkish border consists solely of a 10-kilometer section on the west of Nakhichevan. At one time, the Turkish Government bartered with Iran for this section of land.

Georgia

Shevardnadze Appeals for Extra Powers, Urges Strong Army

LD2006175193 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Russian 1433 GMT 19 Jun 93

[Text] Georgian head of state Eduard Shevardnadze addressed a parliament session on 18 June and said in particular: We are now in the process of democratic development, but we often forget that there is a war going on in Georgia. There is a real war in Abkhazia and an unfinished war in Samachablo [South Ossetia]. However, the most dangerous thing today is the threat of a social explosion, which could lead to the disintegration of the country. It is impossible to overcome this crisis either in a month or a year. Such statements are irresponsible. Together, we must find ways out of the situation. It is necessary to strengthen authority, even to give the head of state additional powers, in order to help him relieve troublemakers of their duty.

Acknowledging that the war is neither lost nor yet won, it should be our main task today to create a unified and powerful army. This should be done, even if the nation has to face the threat of starvation.

I would like to call on all political parties, both my friends and opponents, to support this process and not to play with fire. We need unity, joint effort, and to develop a common national mentality.

The parliamentary chairman reiterated the issue of relations with Russia in his address, saying in particular: It is necessary to build relations with our northern neighbor on the basis of mutually acceptable principles and mutual compromises. A treaty with Russia is necessary. There are subtle points in politics which should not be neglected. Sometimes they are crucially important. I believe that during the work toward preparing for the treaty, we should stick to the line adopted during the meeting with President Yeltsin on 14 May.

Shevardnadze: Russia to Blame If Peace Not Restored

LD1706133493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1252 GMT 17 Jun 93

[By Georgian Information Agency for TASS]

[Text] Tbilisi June 17 TASS—Georgian leader Eduard Shevardnadze said that all attempts to restore peace in Abkhazia without Russia are doomed, but added that Moscow will bear responsibility in case peace is not ensured in the conflict zone.

"Without the Russian factor efforts to settle the conflict in Abkhazia will be fruitless. Georgia maintains regular contacts with the United Nations and believes that negotiations with Russian participation should be continued. But if they fail to yield result, Georgia will have the right to put the responsibility on the Russian leadership", Shevardnadze told the European Press-Service.

Shevardnadze called for an immediate end to the conflict which is "of an artificial and invented character".

"We are sure that together with peace business interest will come to Georgia", he added on the eve of his visit to Germany.

The Georgian leader said today it is very important to look for new regulating instruments in bilateral and multilateral interstate relations. "Georgia tries to conduct its policy in a balanced way relying on the principles of neutrality, equality, and mutual interests", Shevardnadze said.

Abkhazia Refrains From Responding to Russian Statement

LD2106112493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1056 GMT 21 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Zurab Argun, Vadim Byrkin]

[Text] Gudauta June 21 TASS—The Abkhazian authorities have decided to refrain so far from responding to a statement made by the Russian Committee for Affairs of the Federation and Nationalities, expressing concern over the development of the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict, Chairman of the Abkhazian Parliament Vladislav Ardzinba told ITAR-TASS.

It was earlier reported that last Saturday the Russian committee had expressed a particular concern about "a refusal by the Abkhazian side to sign a previously coordinated agreement on a ceasefire in Abkhazia and a mechanism of exercising control over its implementation." The Russian committee believes that the only reasonable way out for the Caucasian peoples is the recognition by the Georgian leadership of an autonomous status of Abkhazia and South Ossetia and the strengthening of federal relations in the framework of an integral Georgian state.

Local observers believe that the Abkhazian leadership has taken a wait-and-see position and refrains from responding to the Russia's statement until the situation about signing a treaty on friendship and cooperation between Russia and Georgia clears up.

The agreement was originally planned to be signed at the end of June, but apparently, it will be delayed.

Abkhazian Troops Said To Violate Cease-Fire

NC1906111793 Yerevan SNARK in English 1109 GMT 19 Jun 93

[Text] Sukhumi, June 19 (SNARK)—The Georgian-Abkhazian cease-fire agreement has been violated by the Abkhazian troops at the Gumista River's front. SNARK reporter informs from the Abkhazian capital the Abkhazians shelled the living blocks and the Georgians troops positions at 10 a.m. There are destructions, no victims among civilian population. Several missiles was fallen near the Russian navy ships which were taking aboard the Tkvarcheli refugees who came today in Sukhumi. Russian General Barannikov, head of the operative service of the state committee on emergency situations, on the above cause appealed to the Georgian second army corps asking not to open responsive fire and affirming that he do undertake every measure to stop shelling at Sukhumi.

Second Army Corps Statement Supports Shevardnadze

LD2006191193 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Russian 1433 GMT 19 Jun 93

[Text] On 19 June, the command and personnel of Georgia's Second Army Corps issued a statement which says, in particular:

It is evident that not everyone in Georgia realizes that the republic is at war. It is at such a difficult time that the leaders of some political parties and factions are ignoring national interests and are calling for the resignation of the Georgian head of state and the overthrow of the authorities in the republic.

The command and personnel of the Second Army Corps deplore any attempt to aggravate the political crisis in the republic and call all political parties and structures to unity.

[Signed] Zaur Uchadze, commander Second Army Corps

Ardzinba Says Russia, World Community Supports Abkhazia

PM1806153393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Jun 93 First Edition p 1

[INTERFAX report: "Vladislav Ardzinba: 'The World Community Supports Us'"]

[Text] Vladislav Ardzinba, chairman of the Abkhazia Supreme Soviet, believes that the Abkhaz people, who are small in number, "can resist the Georgians for a long time because they are supported by Russia and the whole world community. [no closing quotation mark as published]

This is confirmed, he stated in an interview on Gudauta radio, by the "successes achieved by the Abkhazian side during the months of war." V. Ardzinba noted that the former constitutions of Georgia and Russia and the Constitution of the USSR contained a section on the inviolability of the borders of autonomous formations.

Russian Aid Convoy Arrives in Tkvarcheli

LD1806044393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0422 GMT 18 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Serebryakov]

[Text] Moscow June 18 TASS—A convoy of Russian trucks with humanitarian aid arrived in the besieged Abkhazian town of Tkvarcheli late on Thursday, according to chairman of the Russian Committee on Emergency Situations Sergey Shoygu.

He told TASS by telephone from the Black Sea city of Adler that there were no losses during the operation.

The convoy arrived along a reserve road as bridges along the main one are destroyed.

The aid will be distributed on Friday, according to Shoygu.

Refugees from Tkvarcheli will be taken by the trucks to Georgian- held Sukhumi and from there by landing craft to Sochi on the Russian coast of the Black Sea.

Shevardnadze Comments on Situation in Azerbaijan

LD1906094393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0922 GMT 18 Jun 93

[Text] Tbilisi, June 19 TASS—Addressing the Georgian parliament session on Friday, Georgian leader and parliament speaker Eduard Shevardnadze noted, referring to the situation in Azerbaijan that Georgia is vitally interested in stability in the neighboring state and establishment of peace there.

"A stable Azerbaijan is an important factor of our quiet life," he noted. "Small doubt that our neighbors with wisdom and great responsibility inherent in them will make wise and correct decisions at such a difficult time for Azerbaijan."

Uzbek President Thanked for Restoring Gas Supplies

LD1806205693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1805 GMT 18 Jun 93

[By Georgian News Agency correspondent for TASS]

[Text] Tbilisi June 18 TASS—Georgian state head Eduard Shevardnadze has sent a cable to Uzbek President Islam Karimov to thank the latter for assistance in restoration of gas supplies to Georgia despite objective difficulties.